Trends: Kids in Community Colleges

california JOURNAL

FEBRUARY 1999
$3.95
a State Net Publication

Prisons:

Is it time for reform?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We're Giving California's Kids A Big "Thumbs Up!"

We work "the toughest beat in the state" behind California's prison walls, where we deal with the absolute worst — child molesters, gang bangers, drug dealers, rapists and murderers.

Outside, we focus on the best.

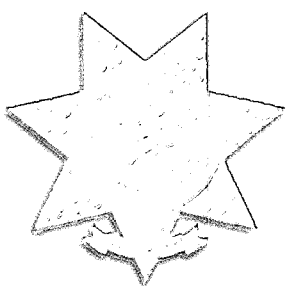
Our "Thumbs Up!" child protection project provides parents with a free fingerprint and photo ID card for their kids, thanks to the good work of correctional officers who volunteer their time.

Correctional officers have delivered thousands of our "Tuff Teddy Bears" to ailing children in hospitals throughout California.

We're among the biggest contributors to charities like Make-A-Wish, WEAVE and People Reaching Out. We award $100,000 a year in college scholarships, and give our time freely as youth coaches, church leaders and community volunteers.

No group has done more to help crime victims. We know what they've been through. We see it every day.

We're CCPOA. And we're proud of what we do.



California Correctional Peace Officers Association
755 Riverpoint Drive • West Sacramento, California 95605

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

california JOURNAL

February 1999
Volume XXX, Number 2

Upfront

Talking Points

State of the State

The Bottom Line

Two Cents

Washington Perspective

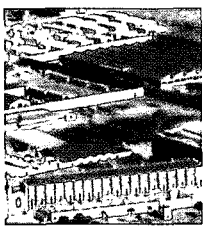
Prisons

When he was a member of the Legislature, former Senator Bob Presley (D-Riverside) was the go-to guy when it came to prison issues. Presley, who has been out of elective office since 1994, now is back — and on the spot as never before, as Governor Gray Davis' head of the state Youth and Adult Correctional Agency. On the front burner for Presley: California's troubled prison system. Despite an unprecedented building program over the past 15 years, it still houses too many inmates in too little space. Not only that, but a number of rogue prison guards have come under federal and state investigations for a variety of violent offenses against prisoners. Democrats, who long have called for a re-examination of how the state approaches issues of crime and punishment, now control both ends of state government. Does this mean new and innovative ways to punish offenders, while also reducing the number of felons who end up behind bars? Associate Editor Noel Brinkerhoff takes a look at the problems, including guard violence and the drive to privatize prisons, and provides a profile of Presley, the old hand who now must confront a creature of his own making and scrutinize a political ally — the California Correctional Peace Officers Association.

By A. G. Block

8 Lock 'em up

California's prison system is overcrowded, rife with drugs and subject to violence sometimes perpetrated by guards rather than inmates. Are there better ways to deal with felons than to lock 'em up?
By Noel Brinkerhoff



20 Leapfroggers

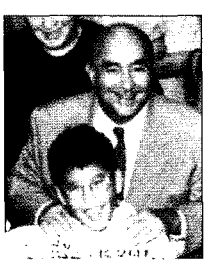
A growing number of teenagers are skipping high school — and even junior high — and entering directly into community colleges. This is creating some problems for the state's two-year colleges, as well as raising questions about accessibility for adults with no other educational opportunities.
By Sylvia S. Fox

24 Eduspeak

With education reform in the very center of government's plate, reporters and the public will have to learn the jargon peculiar to the education community.
By Sigrid Bathen

28 Charles Reed

The new chancellor of the sprawling California State University system is a former college linebacker who often approaches problems and conflicts with the same aggressiveness he brought to the gridiron.
By Sigrid Bathen



36 Impeachment

A chart showing how each of the state's 52 members of the House of Representatives voted on the question of whether to impeach President William Jefferson Clinton.
By Cynthia H. Craft

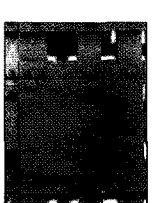


Photo of a lock from the door of an old one-cell jail (circa 1850's) located at Marshall Gold Discovery State Historic Park in Coloma.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

umbrage

Applause meter. The usual dignitary parade was in full flower last month as Governor Gray Davis was inaugurated, and several were accorded their own special greetings. Going in, the greatest apprehension was no doubt about how outgoing Governor Pete Wilson would be received by the Democrat-dominated, invitation-only crowd. But Wilson was accorded a respectful standing ovation as he entered. A much more raucous welcome greeted the next guest — Vice President Al Gore. Gore's cheer was so sustained, it stepped on the ovation for the new guv and First Lady Sharon Davis. Not to worry, though. When Davis was formally sworn in and Chief Justice Ronald George congratulated him, the Democratic audience exploded in a primal scream of sustained applause. It was as if they were trying to make up for all the applauding they've missed for the last 16 years. The speech itself was interrupted a total of 40 times by applause. At times, the revved-up crowd mentally finished Davis' sentences for him, roaring before he came to his punch lines. When he mentioned the memory of American servicepeople, the crowd offered a standing ovation before he could get to the next line, which was an invitation to the crowd to stand and applaud the vets in the audience. Deadpanned Davis, "I'm going to have to learn to speak faster."

Strange choices. In the music category, the award goes to the military band that played the inauguration itself. Mixed in with the usual diet of John Phillip Sousa marches was the theme song to the hit television show M*A*S*H. The title of that song? "Suicide is Painless." Perhaps the band was making a prediction about the speech to come. Or maybe they just thought that Dr. Jack Kevorkian was one of the dignitaries in the audience. In the spoken word category, the "Ideas That Backfired" award goes to actor Edward James Olmos. Olmos was invited to address the 5,000 or so attendees of Davis' Inaugural Gala. Tucked in after a sequence of fine performances by new California artists, Olmos started off by praising outgoing Governor Pete Wilson. Not exactly a strong start in a Democratic crowd. He then uncorked an impassioned but at times baffling riff on the evils of Euro-Centric education. "Name me one [Asian-American] that you have studied in school," Olmos thundered to the per-

Beat the clock.

It surprised nobody that ex-Governor Pete Wilson spent a good chunk of his last two months in office filling as many appointments as he could. Lame-duck maneuvers included appointment of political allies, including his legal affairs director, to judgeships and other choice non-confirmable spots. But anti-smoking activists earned the distinction of receiving the last — and in some ways the most subversive — parting shot. Less than a week before his departure — December 30 — state health organzations received a faxed letter seeking their input on a Wilson appointment to the commission that will oversee the new tobacco tax initiative. The name of the appointee? Kimberly Belshe, outgoing Health Services Director. The solicitation of input was clearly pro forma — the deadline for responding was the next day — New Year's Eve — and Belshe's appointment was announced in a news release dated January 3 — the day before Wilson left office. Why run such a sneaky drill on an unpaid appointment? The answer lay in what she included, or rather didn't include, in the extensive resume that accompanied the administration's letter. Over seven pages, Belshe's every move is chronicled. But when it gets to her public relations career in 1988, the resume only mentions that she was account executive "for a statewide ballot initiative." Which one? Proposition 99, that year's quarter-a-pack hike in the cigarette tax. Why would she gloss over such an important detail? Maybe it's because she was working for the other side. Belshe was one of the central figures working against Proposition 99. No surprise, then, that her appointment drew howls from the anti-smoking community. The move, however, is entirely in character for her former boss. Pete Wilson, the man for whom revenge never sleeps.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

california JOURNAL a State Net publication

Editor: A.G. Block

Managing Editor: Cynthia H. Craft

Senior Editor: Sigrid Bathen

Political Editor: Steve Scott

Associate Editors: Claudia Buck, Noel Brinkerhoff, Kathleen Les, Melanie Smith, Anthony York

Contributing Editors: Lou Cannon, Lance Izumi, Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, Susan Rasky, Marc Sandalow, Dana Wilkie

Editorial Assistants: Sean J. Campbell, Tippy Young

Circulation: Tim Foster

Art Director: Dagmar Thompson

Art Staff: Suzanne Raney

Advertising Representative: Mary Dolliver (916) 444-2840

Advertising Coordinator: Erica Pahl, (916) 444-2840

Founding Publisher: Thomas R. Hoeber

STATE NET

Services & Publications

50-state and congressional on-line legislative and regulatory reporting • Single-state on-line legislative and regulatory reporting for CA,, CO, IL, MI, MA, OH, and PA • State Net Capitol Journal • California Directories • California Journal • California Political Almanac •California Journal On-line •50-state legislative Directory • Books & Seminars

For more information call: (916) 444-0840

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a monthly, non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The Journal is available on-line through StateNet, Nexis/Lexis and Westlaw. It is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts and Urban Affairs Abstracts. California Journal (ISSN 0008-1205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $59.00; Corporations and Associations, $95.00; Special Individual rate, $42.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1998 by Information for Public Affairs, Inc. Periodicals postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816.

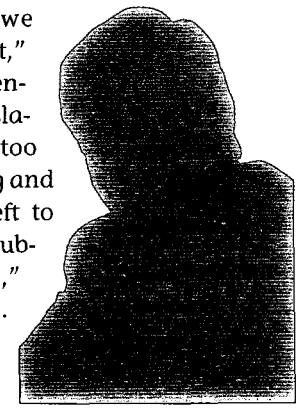
umbrage

plexed audience. Okay, maybe he has a point, but it seems inappropriate to crash someone else's party with a narrowcast polemic. "I thought he was having a nervous breakdown out there," said one puzzled attendee the next day. "I thought it was insulting to the governor that he [Olmos] was so out of control."

Sign of the times. With all the luminaries who graced the stage at Cal Expo for the inaugural gala, the hardest working performers were two women visible to all but all, but unrecognized. Their names: Rebekah Finn and Molly Bowen. It was their task to convey the various musical performances in American Sign Language. Finn's particularly challenging task was to sign the non-stop verbal riffing of rap star Coolio. She did it with Bowen's help — working from a script, Bowen prompted her partner. The result was that deaf attendees probably picked up a good deal more of what Coolio said than those whose ears are not trained to the cadences of rap music. It was the first time in decades that a gala had been signed for the deaf. In fact, NorCal Center on Deafness Director Sheri Farinha Mutti said Republicans have "never" approached her organization for signing any of their political events in Sacramento. Guess there aren't any deaf Republicans.

S.R.O. The election of Cruz Bustamante as lieutenant governor has been trumpeted by many as a clear sign that Latino political leaders are no longer "on the outside looking in." But that's exactly where many of Bustamante's supporters — Latino and otherwise — found themselves the night of his inauguration. The light guv's inaugural bash at the California Railroad Museum, featuring the L.A.-based rock group Los Lobos, was the hottest ticket in town — hotter even than the governor's two balls. The state fire marshall cut off entry into the party at 2,500, leaving an estimated 5,000 waiting outside in frigid winter weather. Attendees waiting outside were allowed in one at a time as others left the gathering, but the vast majority either gave up or went home disappointed. Los Lobos wasn't the only star power Bustamante flexed his first day in office. Only hours after being sworn in, the new light guv participated in his first news conference touting an anti-dropout program aimed at Latino youth. Among those in attendance: actress Rita Moreno and rock star Carlos Santana. Santana's presence led to a buzz among music afficionadoes that he might sit in with Los Lobos. Apparently, it didn't happen.

Headliner. With Pete Wilson replaced by Democrat Gray Davis as governor, and virtually every other statewide office in the hands of Democrats, who is the titular head of the Republican Party these days — not the chairman, but the emotional leader, the person around whom the party rallies? Ask 10 Republicans and receive 22 answers. "I don't think we know that yet," said an influential GOP legislator. "There's too much shooting and bloodletting left to do [among Republican factions]," said another. Some names that surface: Secretary of State Bill Jones, Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush, Wilson. And, only half facetiously, the governor — of *Texas*, George W. Bush. Know the answer? E-mail your nominee to editor@statenet.com.



"Whenever you have an efficient government, you have a dictatorship."
— Harry S Truman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sense of Place:

SoCal wins in North vs. South

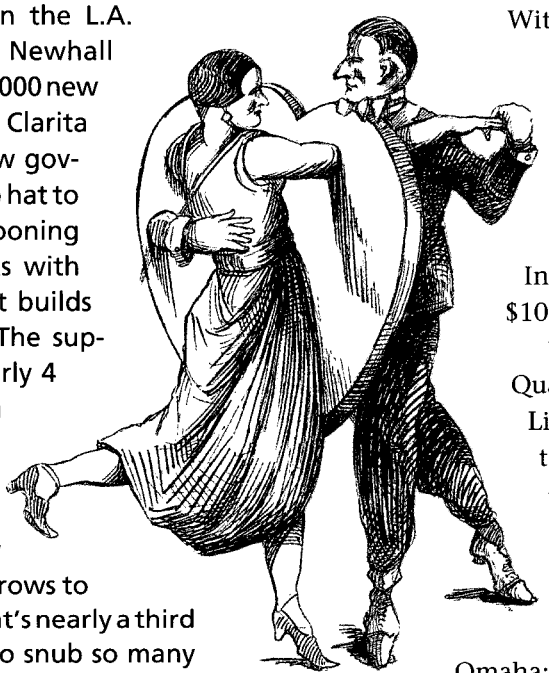
No one with a long view and a decent sense of proportion should be startled by Governor Gray Davis' desire to set up camp in SoCal like no governor before him has done. It is, after all, a region congested with both the glitz of money and the grit of votes — and destined to grow even more so (given the L.A. supes' approval of Newhall Ranch, a sprawl of 21,000 new houses in the Santa Clarita Valley). That the new governor would tip a top hat to the inescapably ballooning might of L.A. breaks with Capitol tradition but builds on common sense. The support of a city of nearly 4 million is hardly a prize to take for granted. And when you zoom out to zero in on L.A. County numbers, the mass grows to nearly 10 million. That's nearly a third of all Californians. To snub so many (say, by barnacling oneself to the halls of the Capitol in Sacramento) would invite alienation. Los Angeles also is home base to Richard Riordan, the California GOP's steadfast tin soldier, and the state's prime wooing-ground for the heart of the Latino voter. So as the powers that be continue to jabber on about California being the world's seventh-largest economy, they best take note of L.A.'s growing clout in the state, and the numbers that prove it

— Cynthia H. Craft

Follow the Money

A his-and-hers wonder

Why didn't someone think of this before? It's efficient, effective and it satisfies the yearnings of the ever-demanding family-values bloc. What is it? His and hers fund raising, *ala* Mr. and Mrs. Quackenbush. The beauty of it is that, unlike the arguably wasteful example set by, say, Bill and Hillary, here you have *two* people going for *two* seats. In these days of time and resource management, this is a campaign fund-raising strategy that makes sense. And cents.



Witness: On May 21, 1998, the missus, running for state Senate District 6, gets $5,000 from the Association of California Insurance Companies PAC; on October 20, the mister, seeking re-election as Insurance Commissioner, gets $100,000 from the same PAC.

Then on October 26, Chris Quackenbush gets $5,000 from Liberty Mutual Group in Boston; the very next day, husband Chuck Quackenbush gets $25,000 from Liberty Mutual. On October 29, Chris receives $1,250 from Medico Life Insurance Company in Omaha; Chuck's check for $1,250 from Medico arrives the next day.

Then there's Mutual Protective Insurance Company in Omaha, which slid $1,250 to Chris on October 29. Next day, Mutual Protective sent $1,250 to Chuck.

Chuck's $50,000 from TIG Insurance Company in Irving, Texas, came October 21, a day after Chris' $1,000 from TIG. Trans Cal Associates' gave Chuck $1,000 on October 22. Chris got $3,000 from Trans Cal on October 26, followed by another $3,000 the next day.

Alas, syncopated fund raising produced results for only one half of this campaigning couple. But you know what they say — for better, or for worse.

— *Cynthia H. Craft*

Quotables.....

"It is well to reflect on the transitory quality of things human."

— Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown in an inauguration speech he kept to seven minutes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thanks for the Memories:

Of scoundrels and felons

Let's get right to the point, said **David Roberti** (D), the former Senate chief, the other day from his new digs at the Integrated Waste Management Board. Term limits in its most basic form is a violation of constitutional rights. Not only does it curb voter freedoms, it stops short those who hear the call of public service.

Say, like Roberti himself. In his latest incarnation, he's learning the ropes of managing huge, growing mounds of garbage. He's particularly struck by the problem of what to do with the 30 million used tires that Californians go through annually. And tire piles make up only 2 percent of our mounting rubbish flow.

Were it not for term limits, Roberti would not find himself at the receiving end of quantitative briefings on waste. Nor would he have spent four years as an appointee to the state unemployment appeals board, where he witnessed "the little vignettes of life as to why people hold their jobs, why people lose their jobs."

Roberti lost his job in 1994 when he became the California Legislature's first term limits "victim," (his phrase, uttered with wry humor) and so he's lived with its impact longer than anyone. As a practical matter, he believes the hiatus has been good for him, forcing a reconnection with the real world. He's had a chance to teach politics to university students — whose enthusiasm and gusto he finds refreshing — and stay active in animal rights and other causes. His only regret? That he still doesn't have enough leisure time to make it to the opera.

Roberti's thoughts on term limits' shortcomings include concerns that legislators are rotated in and out too quickly; this forms a vacuum that allows lobbyists to position themselves as the institutional memory; the governor gets too much power; legislators tend to set sights on future career opportunities rather than the problems on the table; and so on.

But Roberti also worries about a temporarily clued-in Legislature unable to deal wisely with the demographic and land-use challenges of a California that is to come. "California is not a state where you can make a quick revolution," noted Roberti.

Perhaps most offensive to this former hard-working president pro tempore of the Senate is the subtle undermining of respect for government that term limits invites. "It's giving in to the scoundrel theory," he said. "The only people who by law are banned from running for office are termed-out legislators and convicted felons."

— Cynthia H. Craft

By the numbers

Size matters

12% California's portion of the U.S. population.

7% Texas' portion of the U.S population.

33 Million people living in California.

9 Million people living in Texas.

4 Number of years George W. Bush has held public office.

32 Number of years Pete Wilson held public office.

10 Million people living in Los Angeles County.

3.7 Million people living in the City of Los Angeles.

22 Number of states whose population ranks below L.A.'s.

4.4 Number of states whose population falls below L.A. County's.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

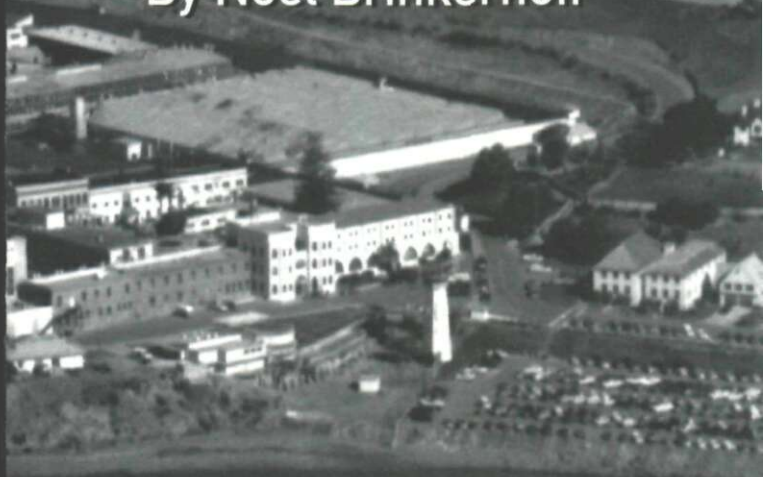
Lock 'em

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up?

No agency of government is as troubled these days as the California Department of Corrections. Swamped with many inmates who are both illiterate and drugged out, the CDC has been staggered by allegations of brutality perpetrated by those charged with supervising those inmates. Blame aside, are there new ways to look at how the state deals with serious felons?

By Noel Brinkerhoff



San Quentin.
Prison photos courtesy of the California Department of Corrections

In the early 1980s, film director John Carpenter created a dark vision of futuristic America where so many convicts were being locked up that the government decided to create a maximum security prison simply by walling off New York City. "Escape from New York" provided an extreme view of how society might deteriorate when it dealt with the problem of crime entirely in terms of punishment, instead of attempting to correct the behavior of criminals.

Two years ago, Carpenter's sequel cast a similar fate on Los Angeles, in which that city, too, became a butressed urban prison — a prison in a state which, ironically enough, today finds itself with more prison walls and electrified fences than even Carpenter imagined.

Beginning with California State Prison, Solano, in 1984, the state has opened 11 new maximum-security prisons and 10 minimum- and medium-security facilities over the past 15 years. And it hasn't been enough. Despite an unprecedented construction boom in new penitentiaries, California still faces a serious crisis of inmate overcrowding. Those 21 new facilities were built to accommodate a prison population that has ballooned from 30,000 to 160,000 inmates because of tougher sentencing laws first approved in the late 1970s and culminating in the 1994 "three strikes" law.

But too many inmates for too few cells is only one of the problems plaguing the California penal system on the eve of a new century. The notion of violence behind prison walls has taken on a new meaning in recent years, fueled by highly publicized investigations and subsequent indictments of rogue prison guards accused of brutalizing and even killing prisoners. Drug use inside prisons is, according to some, epidemic, as is illiteracy. As a result, the state's prison policy is coming under increased scrutiny at a time when a new political dynamic in Sacramento affords the opportunity to reshape that policy with innovative solutions. Whether any of these new concepts are implemented, of course, remains to be seen.

Pack 'em in

The problem of overcrowding is becoming acute everywhere. Cells originally designed to hold one inmate regularly hold two, creating a volatile atmosphere in a system already plagued by violence (see page 10). Even with double-bunking, the system will run out of bed-space in just over two years. If that happens, California could experience a nightmare more frightening than anything

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ever portrayed on any movie screen: a court-ordered release of prisoners, which states such as Florida and Texas have endured because of overcrowded institutions.

At first glance, the obvious solution might be to build more prisons. But according to the non-partisan Legislative Analyst Office, California will have trouble building its way out of the problem. A "build-only" approach requires nearly 30,000 additional beds over the next five years — the equivalent of six new prisons — with a one-time construction cost of $1.6 billion and another $500 million every year to operate the new facilities. Nor is this solution timely, for it takes three to four years to build a prison. Finally, the money poured into prisons ultimately affects how much the state may spend for other needs, such as for schools and highways — and politicians these days may be loathe to give such a high priority to prisons when voters made it crystal clear in 1998 that education is their highest priority.

With the new political dynamic in Sacramento, Democrats will dominate prison policy over the next few years. They control the executive and legislative branches of government, as well as hold the state's "top cop" position — attorney general — for the first time since 1965. And although the attorney general has no bureaucratic jurisdiction over the state's correctional system, the politician now at the helm of the state Department of Justice — Attorney General Bill Lockyer — could well be a factor in how the state approaches prison overcrowding, given the former lawmaker's history on prison issues and his alliance with Governor Gray Davis.

During his long legislative career, Lockyer, a former leader of the state Senate, often articulated a different approach to crime and punishment. It was Lockyer, for instance, who successfully blocked legislative approval for new prison construction during the last years of Republican Governor Pete Wilson's administration. He did so, along with other Democratic lawmakers, on grounds that the state should be doing more than just locking up criminals; that it should be investing in ways to prevent those criminals from committing more crimes once they are released.

"We know the typical prisoner reads at a third or fourth grade level, has very few employable skills, often is mentally ill ... has drug or alcohol histories that are serious," says Lockyer. "It would seem to me that we could bring down the long term [prison] costs for both space and operational budgets by trying to build programs of [prevention] into the prison setting."

Lockyer's belief that the state should shift its approach from detention to prevention is shared by the likes of Senator John Vasconcellos (D-

Deadly Trouble:
Corcoran and beyond

The notion that a prison — especially, a maximum-security facility — might occasionally be the scene of a violent act ought not to come as a shock. After all, many inmates assigned to such a facility are paying the price for violent behavior on the outside.

Yet not all violent acts inside prison walls are committed *by* inmates. More troubling these days are revelations that the brutality often is visited *on* inmates by those charged with their care and handling: namely, correctional peace officers — taxpayer-supported employees of the state of California.

For the last several years, prison guards, wardens and top administrators have come under severe criticism for alleged misuses of force and subsequent cover-ups designed to hide the brutality from investigators. Corcoran State Prison in the Central Valley, for instance, has been at the epicenter of some of the most serious allegations: beating prisoners while they got off a bus from another institution; deliberately housing known sex offenders with a troublesome inmates, who subsequently raped them, the staging of fights between prisoners who were shot when the situation got out of hand.

An independent review panel appointed by California Department of Corrections Director Cal Terhune reported last November that of 31 shootings by Corcoran officers between 1989 and 1995, 24 were unjustified. The panel also found the department's procedures for investigating shootings to be flawed.

Problems of violence and alleged misuses of force have also plagued other institutions, notably High Desert Prison near Susanville and Pelican Bay, the super-max facility near Cresent City. In response to the growing publicity surrounding the behavior of corrections personnel, including series of stories in both the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Sacramento Bee*, the Legislature conducted a six-day hearing last year which focused on Corcoran and the CDC's handling of the situation. Lawmakers then approved legislation turning the Office of Inspector General for the Youth and Adult Correctional Agency into an independent authority that now reports directly to the governor. They also approved legislation to expand from six weeks to nine weeks the amount

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

San Jose), chairman of the Senate Public Safety Committee, an old-school liberal who's grown tired of a state correctional policy he says has done little to turn criminals away from a life of crime.

"What's the environment you're creating in the prisons? What's it calculated to accomplish?" Vasconcellos asks. "Prisons ought to be about public safety — what you do with people that are convicted and dangerous while they're with you that gives the best chance that, when they come out, they're not dangerous."

Currently, state prisons offer a variety of educational, vocational and substance-abuse treatment programs for both inmates and parolees. But those programs — Lockyer, Vasconcellos and others insist — should receive more attention and funding in order to reduce the state's 70 percent recidivism rate — the percentage of convicted criminals return-

Corcoran State Prison

of training correctional officers receive at the state academy.

But those legislative actions have not resolved the problems nor made life any safer for inmates at troubled institutions. As Senator John Vasconcellos (D-San Jose) says, "We're not nearly there. We've got the momentum started. ...We've got a lot of changes of attitude and practice and program law to be put into place, but at least we have the issue on the table and in the public's mind for the frist time in a long time."

But for Senator Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), additional training for prison guards was too little too late. "This Legislature has been unwilling to provide the resources to adequately train correctional officers, and then they turn around and appear shocked and amazed when someone who has inadequate training does something wrong," Brulte says.

Training of correctional officers once again will be debated this year in the Legislature. A bill by Senator Richard Rainey (R-Walnut Creek) calls for 24 weeks of training for prison guards, the same amount of time California Highway Patrol officers receive at their academy.

Other changes also have been implemented by the department at the direction of Terhune. At each of the state's 33 correctional facilities, and at CDC headquarters, monthly reviews now take place in which officials examine all reported uses of force to see if they were warranted and to correct any mistakes made. CDC also has changed the reporting procedures for all medical and psychiatric facilities in prisons so that all information is sent directly to headquarters in Sacramento, to help prevent cover-ups of wrongdoing at the local level.

Terhune says the department also is in the process of revising its shooting policy and is looking into ways to rely on alternative, non-lethal uses of force — such as pepper spray delivered via water cannon — to deal with inmate brawls. He says that one way to reduce potential violence in the system would be to increase the number of guards in prisons, facilitating better communication with inmates during yard-time and gaining a better sense of any trouble that might be brewing. Presently, California's staff/inmate ratio is one of the worst in the country.

Meanwhile, the folks charged with representing guards — the California Correctional Peace Officers Association — blames Department of Corrections policy for the most severe problems to surface at Corcoran. Don Novey, president of the CCPOA, said the department failed to adequately rotate officers out of what Novey said had become a dumping ground for some of the system's most violent inmates, transferred to Corcoran from places such as Calipatria and New Folsom. In addition, Novey complained, not only were guards not rotated out of Corcoran, they rarely were rotated out around inside the prison. Thus, he said, guards stayed for long periods working the Security Housing Unit, where many of the alleged violations took place.

"You can only survive in these places [for so long]," Novey says. "They kept leaving these guys in Corcoran, working in 'the hole.' ...It's not right. You don't leave officers working in those things for too long a period [else] they start acting like other people."

— Noel Brinkerhoff

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing to prison after being released — and thus reduce the cycle feeding a prison system bursting at the seams.

Cleaning them up

To say those housed in California prisons today have a "problem" with drugs or alcohol would be the understatement of understatements. According to Cal Terhune, a 40-year veteran of youth and adult correctional facilities and director of the California Department of Corrections (CDC) during the last two years of the Wilson administration, 80 percent of all inmates — or 128,000 — may suffer from substance abuse of one kind or another. And yet, the prison system currently has only 3,000 slots in programs designed to help those with drug or alcohol troubles. An additional 3,000 slots are slated to come on line soon.

A mere "pimple on the problem," as Terhune puts it.

Terhune believes investing in more drug/alcohol treatment programs is worthwhile because of it reduces recidivism. An evaluation of CDC's efforts by Dr. Harry Wexler of the National Development and Research Institute showed a 12 percent drop in recidivism among those who received in-prison treatment for substance abuse — and a 48 percent reduction for those who received both in-prison care and follow-up counseling, or aftercare, during parole.

As these numbers demonstrate, aftercare is an especially important component of a successful treatment process — one that isn't being fully funded for even the small number of inmates who receive drug treatment. According to the Legislative Analyst's Office, even with the additional dollars approved in last year's state budget for correctional drug treatment programs, only half of all inmates receiving initial treatment also will get aftercare.

Aftercare, along with in-prison treatment, isn't cheap. It costs $6,000 per inmate for phase-one and another $6,000 for aftercare. But that $12,000 cost per inmate can be off-set, the legislative analyst's staff points out, by not having to house drug-offenders who stay out of prison. By contrast, each inmate in prison costs $21,000 annually to feed, clothe and house.

When it comes to dealing with the problem of drugs and inmates, there's also the problem of illegal substances smuggled into prisons by visitors and staff. That's why Don Novey, president of the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, the powerful prison guards union that backed Governor Davis' election with $2 million, says the drug issue is a bifurcated process — "getting the druggies off the drugs" and cutting off the supply of narcotics into prisons.

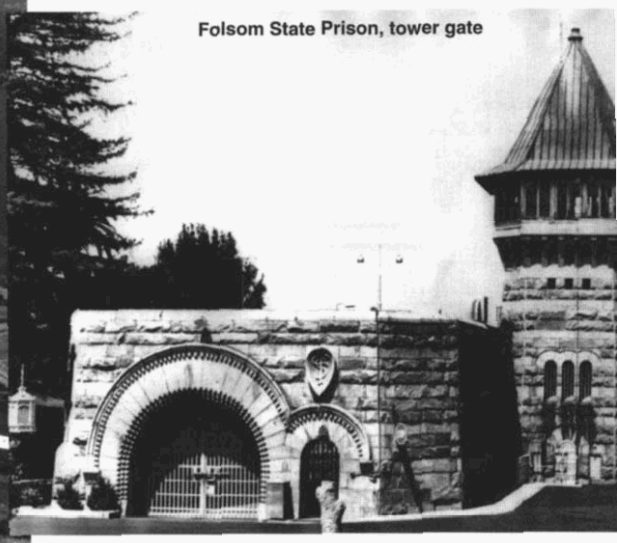
Novey supports additional funding for treatment programs, although his 30 years as a correctional officer has made him less than optimistic about their effectiveness. He figures only one-in-five inmates will actually benefit from counseling. But even a 20 percent success rate, Novey admits, could mean 25,000 fewer criminals going back to prison. In terms of dollars, that translates into a net savings of $225 million.

Novey also is supportive of measures to make sure his members don't contribute to the drug problem. As part of a collective bargaining agreement between CCPOA and the state, Novey agreed to random drug-testing for all new correctional officers. He did this despite his insistence that the smuggling problem rests with visitors. That assessment is backed by Terhune, who authorized a pilot project at two institutions to test surveillance and

Folsom State Prison

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California State Prison, Sacramento ("New Folsom")



Folsom State Prison, tower gate

screening measures aimed at stopping the flow of narcotics into the state's prisons.

Reading, writing and ratcheting

Many inmates suffer from inadequate educations, and CDC's own figures estimate the average reading level among inmates to be only seventh grade. Programs help inmates reach high school proficiency or develop vocational skills, but again there's a shortage of available slots.

According to Terhune, almost 20,000 inmates spend their days waiting to get into either an academic or vocational program. And although the department does not have any statistics to show the effectiveness of these programs (a study is being done), Terhune says they do make a difference in turning around criminals, and thus should be better funded.

One area with vocational opportunities ripe for expansion is prison manufacturing run by the Prison Industry Authority. PIA is a self-funded operation relying on revenues generated from the sale of services and goods produced by inmates around the state, including office furniture, clothing, license plates and agricultural goods. Presently, 7,000 inmates are employed in PIA factories, making between 30 and 95 cents an hour.

Another vocational avenue that's under-utilized is a public/private partnership called Joint Venture, in which private companies set up manufacturing operations using prison labor. Established in 1990 under Proposition 139, Joint Venture currently employs only 300 inmates. The number is small, say analysts, because businesses are reluctant to located facilities behind prison walls and no one from the administration has worked to reverse that attitude.

Getting out, and staying out

"One of the disappointing things I saw when I came back [to CDC] in '97 after leaving in '91 is what happened with parole caseloads," says Terhune, who came out of retirement at Governor Wilson's behest to take over an embattled corrections department. "When I left, parole caseloads were an average of 52 parolees to an agent, and now it's around 80."

That increase alone says a lot about the condition of California's parole system: too many cases per parole agent means too little time spent helping a released inmate make the necessary adjustments back into society. Consequently, the vast majority of parolees wind up back in prison, either because of a new conviction or a parole violation.

Today, there are 110,000 people on parole in California, needing a range of services from drug counseling, job placement, to child care, and it's up to a parole agent to broker those needs. Drug treatment especially is needed for many — half of all parolees who wind up back in prison do so because of a drug-related offense. In recent years, though, the parole system has been more concerned with sniffing out the problem rather than treating it.

According to the Legislative Analyst Office, funding for drug testing of parolees is automatically increased whenever the parole budget increases, while funding for counseling and therapy has remained steady. And when a parolee fails a drug test, his or her agent is automatically required to report the information to the Board of Prison Terms, which frequently returns

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the violator back to prison.

Helping the convicted criminal outside the penitentiary, however, isn't something that has to happen only after release. Some officials believe non-violent criminals, especially those prosecuted for drug-possession, shouldn't be sent to prison in the first place, and instead placed into a special parole system. It's a concept not only liberals like Lockyer support, but also Novey, an ardent supporter of "three strikes."

In a 1996 report on ways to cope with the state's overcrowded prisons, CCPOA — which represents parole officers in addition to prison guards — called for the adoption of "day reporting" for first-time, non-violent offenders, in which individuals would be placed on a strictly supervised parole following careful screening of each participant. The plan would also include a brief period of incarceration to let the offender know what awaits if they get into trouble again.

But day reporting has its detractors, even though it is backed by tough-on-crime advocates such as Novey. "I don't believe the people of California would like to see a system where people who commit crimes aren't locked up," says Senator Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), the number two Republican in the state Senate, who's reluctant to support such an idea without "strong guarantees" that society as a whole will be protected.

Of course, Brulte and other Republicans may not be able to do anything to stop day reporting from becoming a reality if majority Democrats decide they like the idea. But GOP input will undoubtedly be kept in mind during any political discussions if Democrats — like Governor Davis — want to avoid being accused of coddling criminals in future elections.

A balanced approach

During the 1998 legislative session, Vasconcellos, Brulte and other lawmakers came together on a modest, bipartisan plan designed to help address the prison overcrowding problem. The plan was approved by Governor Wilson, and while it by no means resolved the pending crisis, the plan could well serve as a blueprint for how the state addresses the issue.

Field of ... Dreams?

"Build it, and they will come."

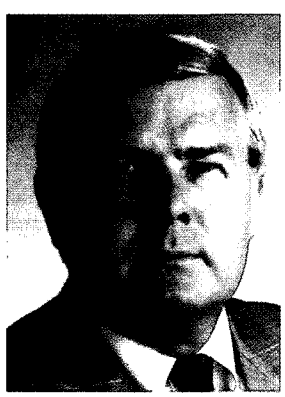
That's the strategy employed by the nation's largest builder and operator of private prisons, Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), a Tennessee-based company that sees many of the nation's overcrowded public correctional systems, including California's, as opportunity for growth.

In two California locales — outside the Central Valley town of Mendota near Fresno and the desert town of California City near Edwards Air Force Base — CCA is building prisons "on spec," or without contract. That's because CCA officials figure it will only be a matter of time before the state reaches a point with its overcrowded penitentiaries that elected officials turn to someone other than the public sector to house its medium- and maximum-security inmates.

"Our anticipation is that some day they're going to change that mission," says CCA President David Myers, whose office is based in Sacramento, not Nashville, where CCA is headquartered. "And when they do, we're not going to have to do anything except say, 'yessir.'"

CCA — which currently houses over 60,000 inmates in 75 prisons worldwide — isn't the only private contractor with eyes on the California inmate market. Wackenhut Corrections Corporation and Cornell Corrections, the nation's second and third leading private prison companies, also have set up shop in California. In fact, Wackenhut and Cornell each have small contracts already with the State of California to house minimum-security inmates in several community-correctional facilities (CCFs).

All three companies are represented by some of Sacramento's more powerful lobbyists: CCA with Sacramento Advocates; Wackenhut with Rodney Blonien; and Cornell with George Steffes. And all three contributed money to political campaigns during the last election cycle, according to the Secretary of State's Office. CCA, however, far outdid its competitors with $200,000 to legislative and statewide candidates, including Governor Gray Davis ($25,000), Democratic Senator Richard Polanco of Los Angeles ($17,500), Senate Republican Leader Ross Johnson of Irvine ($10,000) and Assembly Rules Committee Chairman Robert Hertzberg of Los Angeles ($10,000).



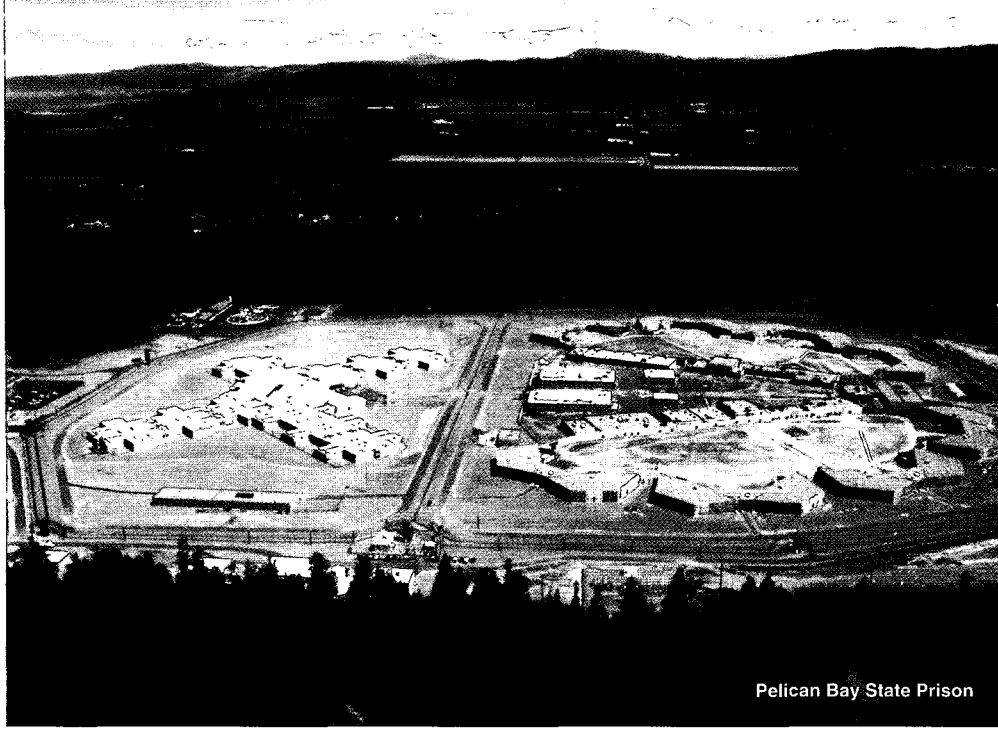
David Myers

The fact that CCA contributed to both Republicans and Democrats underscores the point that the issue of contracting-out prison operations does not fall along partisan lines. In fact, whereas Democrats traditionally loathe the idea of letting the private sector handle governmental functions and Republicans are quick to embrace the idea, the issue of privatizing prisons causes quite the role reversal.

"I don't ever want an entrepreneurial spirit in an enterprise that can ultimately deprive someone's life," says Senator Jim Brulte, a conservative Republican from Rancho Cucamonga. "I don't favor the privatization of police functions, and by-and-large corrections is a police func-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To satisfy conservatives, 2,000 additional prison beds were approved for existing penitentiaries. In addition, another 2,000 beds for low-level offenders were approved in locally run correctional institutions, which the state contracts out to either cities, counties or private prison companies. Such community correctional facilities (CCFs) are something the state has been turning to more and more in recent years, especially with the high number of low-risk criminals crowding the system. To satisfy liberals, the plan included some additional money for a host of prevention programs, including drug treatment for inmates and parolees, job placement services for parolees, and assistance for mentally-ill offenders and juvenile offenders.



Pelican Bay State Prison

tion."

Meanwhile, Polanco, who chairs the Joint Committee on Prison Construction, is the Legislature's most vocal advocate for privatizing prisons. To Polanco, privatizing prisons is a way to save public dollars for other projects, such as education, and to help ease the overcrowding problem.

But private prison companies must overcome a very powerful interest group — the prison guards union — that adamantly opposes the CCAs of the correctional world. Don Novey, president of the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, says "we're gonna fight [private prisons] all the way" because of the danger they pose to good public safety.

A private prison is "too susceptible to falling in the toilet," according to Novey, "and when it does, who has to clean it out? State service."

Indeed, CCA has had problems with some of its prisons. In 1996 in Texas, two sex offenders escaped from a CCA operation in Houston — a minimum-security facility intended for Immigration and Naturalization detainees that CCA had filled with 200 rapists and molesters from Oregon. In July 1998, six inmates — four of them convicted murderers -- escaped from a CCA prison in Youngstown, Ohio, which also experienced 13 stabbings and two homicides in a 15-month period, plus allegations by former CCA-employees of inadequate training. And in October 1998, four inmates escaped from a CCA-facility in Tennessee in which a former CCA security chief alleged that the company had refused to pay overtime to guards, resulting in posts being unmanned.

"We man every post that's supposed to be manned," insists Myers, who says private prison companies have been unfairly criticized for the same problems that plague publicly run penitentiaries. "They have problems; we're gonna have some problems. There's no perfect day in prison."

But while Myers concedes that private prisons do suffer, like their public counterparts, from problems of inmate violence, he argues that his company is superior to the public sector when it comes to cost-savings. "We can save five to 15 percent, depending upon where we are, on building," he says, by designing more efficient facilities requiring less staff than publicly-built prisons. He also says his company doesn't overcrowd its facilities, which reduces stress on both inmates and staff, saving money on sick leave, workers compensation and health services.

Whether private prisons save money is a matter of dispute, however. A 1996 analysis by the General Accounting Office of five studies in California, Tennessee, Washington, Texas and New Mexico found no conclusive evidence of costs savings or quality of service by private contractors. Also, an analysis by a Florida legislative committee found that CCA's Bay Correctional Facility had been more expensive to build than public prisons and had failed to provide operational cost-savings to the state in 1996-97. That same report concluded that another private prison, Wackenhut's Moore Haven Correctional Facility, cost the same to build as public prisons but did achieve operational savings of $480,000 during 1996-97.

Even if CCA was able to assure California officials that its prisons will save the state money, that doesn't mean it will get a contract to house dangerous inmates in either its Mendota or California City facilities. After all, CCA's contributions to Governor Davis were dwarfed by CCPOA's $2 million contribution, in addition to the fact that Davis is a loyal supporter of public employee unions. It also doesn't mean CCA's prisons will remain empty.

As a back-up plan, CCA has had discussions with the federal government about contracting for INS detainees. It may also try importing prisoners from another state — something California law does not currently address. Legislative opponents of private prisons, however, are said to be considering legislation to prevent such action.

— Noel Brinkerhoff

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

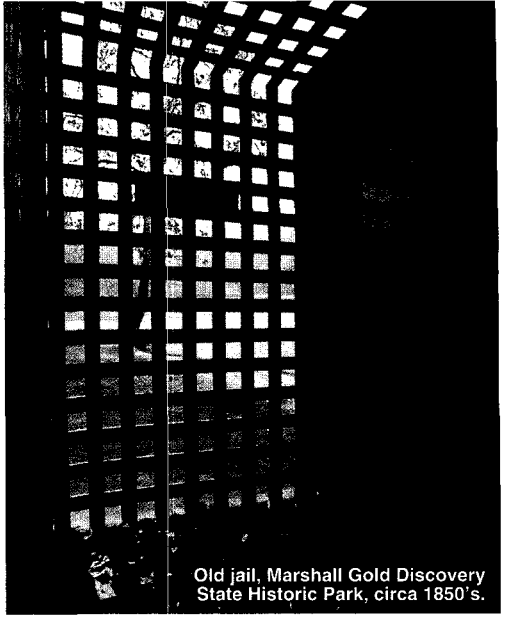
fenders.

This balanced approach, of both expanding bed space and putting more money into prevention programs, demonstrates how diametrical philosophies on correctional issues can come together to form a problem-solving model. No doubt the plan will be something Governor Davis will examine as he settles into office and decides how to address the future of corrections in California. Davis' own centrist philosophy, in fact, works within the parameters of the '98 legislative plan.

"I believe it's important to incarcerate people who intentionally break the law," Davis told *The Sacramento Bee* on the eve of his inauguration. "If I'm called upon to build new prisons to protect public safety, I will do that.... On the other hand, I am open to innovative ways to incarcerate people who have not been convicted of a violent offense," including those that "can be done in a less costly way."

A way that may allow California to escape a future envisioned by John Carpenter — building more and bigger prisons.

Comments regarding associate editor Noel Brinkerhoff's story may be e-mailed to noelb@statenet.com.



Old jail, Marshall Gold Discovery State Historic Park, circa 1850's.

Robert Presley:
Immersed in prison policy once more

Robert Presley, the new secretary of the Youth and Adult Correction Agency, is no stranger to issues of public safety and state prisons. A former state senator and law enforcement official from Riverside County, Presley chaired the Joint Legislative Prisons Committee during the state's unprecedented build-up of its correctional system during the 1980s and early '90s.

A conservative Democrat first elected to the state Senate back in 1974, he served until 1994 when he chose to retire rather than face what promised to be a brutal re-election campaign against then-Assemblyman Ray Haynes (R-Murietta). Haynes eventually won and has since been re-elected. During his 20 years in the Legislature, Presley was known as a folksy, conservative Democrat who often hinted that he might become a Republican — a bit of posturing that never materialized. He was highly respected by both Republicans and Democrats, however, and in 1990 received the highest overall rating of any member of the Senate in *California Journal's* bienniel ranking of the Legislature. In his last term, he was chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, and among his legislative achievements were the state's smog-check program, child-welfare reform and a strengthened South Coast Air Quality Management District.

But it was in the area of corrections that Presley made his most enduring legislative mark. From 1982 to 1990, he often functioned as then-Governor George Deukmejian's point man on prison construction, carrying the bills that authorized construction of every one of the prisons built during that period. As Governor Gray Davis' cabinet representative on prisons, Presley inherits a troubled system plagued by overcrowding and clouded by controversies surrounding prison guards and alleged misuses of force.

"There's a couple of things the governor wanted me to check out right away," Presley told the *Los Angeles Times*. "One of them is the shooting policy and the status of Corcoran."

That examination will involve allegations, which the FBI has been investigating for several years, of correctional officers staging fights between inmates and the use of lethal force to breakup those fights, as well as beating inmates as they stepped off a prison bus. Cover-up allegations also have surfaced at Corcoran and other institutions where the use of lethal force by guards has come into question, including accusations of interference by union officials to protect suspected guards.

For Presley, looking into such problems will mean scrutinizing an old friend and ally — the California Correctional Peace Officers Association. During his days as a lawmaker, the CCPOA regularly contributed to Presley's re-election coffers. And in 1988, the union did more than fatten his campaign treasury. It fattened his wallet as well, bestowing a $10,000 honorarium on the Riverside lawmaker. Then-Assemblywoman Sunny Mojonnier (R-San Diego) received the same gift. That was back before the days when FBI stings and ethics reform led to a ban on honoraria. In addition, CCPOA President Don Novey has spoken highly of Presley and his past efforts in the areas of law enforcement and correctional officers.

Before joining the Legislature in 1974, Presley served in the Riverside County Sheriff's Department for 24 years, including 12 years as undersheriff. He's also a graduate of the FBI Academy and a decorated soldier who received the Bronze Star while serving in Italy during World War II.

– Noel Brinkerhoff

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gun Battle

by Lance T. Izumi

Although he assumes office stressing his own pragmatism, just how pragmatic will Governor Gray Davis be when it comes to the issue of gun control? Although so far he only promises to sign a stronger assault-gun law, his Democratic allies in the Legislature are sure to send him a stack of anti-gun legislation. If Davis really wants to govern by, in his words, "common sense that seeks better results," he should consider the empirical evidence.

Enactment of new anti-gun legislation would be ironic since violent crime is at a record low. Statewide, 1996 and 1997 saw the largest decreases in the violent crime rate in history. In Los Angeles, homicides decreased 27 percent from 1997 to 1998. At the same time, there are more gun owners in the state.

That there is no link between gun ownership and crime should come as no shock. From 1972 to 1992, the number of handguns in the U.S. doubled. This increase, however, coincided with a decline in homicide, gun homicide and handgun homicide. A report by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the research arm of the federal Justice Department, concluded that there "is no persuasive evidence that supports the view" that fewer homicides would occur if guns were less available.

What explains, then, California's record decrease in crime? It seems no coincidence that the crime rate has dropped during the time when California has placed tougher new laws such as "three strikes" on the books. From 1994 (when "three strikes" was passed) to 1997, homicide statewide dropped 40.2 percent. Neither demographics nor the state's economic performance explains this decline.

Yet, despite this evidence, gun-control advocates in California continue to push for more gun regulation at the state and local levels. Recently, gun-control supporters received a boost from the California Supreme Court which decided to let stand a state appellate court ruling that allowed local governments to ban the sale of inexpensive so-called "Saturday Night Special" handguns.

A fundamental flaw with such gun-ban laws, however, is that while they target licensed gun dealers, most criminals who use guns don't buy them from licensed dealers. In a study of four states, including California, the NIJ found that the vast majority of juvenile offenders who used a gun in their crime obtained the gun through an illegal black-market transaction. The federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms also found that most adult criminals in Southern California obtained their guns through non-legal means.

Aside from being ineffective, gun bans and other draconian anti-gun laws also can produce negative unintended consequences. For example, if all handguns were eliminated, crimes might actually become more, not less, lethal. Surveys of jailed felons show that criminals who use handguns in crimes would simply resort to deadlier concealable sawed-off shotguns. State University of New York (Albany) criminologist A.J. Lizotte estimates that the murder rate would triple if a handgun ban were actually effective enough to make felons substitute long guns for handguns.

Take away people's guns, therefore, and many people would become the actual rather than merely the intended victim of a crime.

Gun-control advocates would likely retort that this simply argues in favor of banning all guns. Yet, the NIJ notes that, "There is no evidence anywhere to show that reducing the availability of firearms in general likewise reduces their availability to persons with criminal intent or that persons with criminal intent would not be able to arm themselves under any set of general restrictions on firearms."

A general gun ban, like a handgun ban, could also have the unintended consequence of increasing the number and severity of crimes. According to Florida State University criminologist Gary Kleck, under a hypothetical no-guns scenario, burglars would have little reason to avoid occupied homes, especially if the occupants were women or the elderly. Indeed, "there would be positive advantages to burglary of occupied premises as this would give the burglar a much better chance to get cash in victims' purses or wallets."

Studies of Britain, the Netherlands and Canada — all countries with stringent anti-gun laws — found that burglars were significantly more likely than American burglars to commit their crimes in an occupied home. Why? A survey of convicted U.S. burglars and violent criminals found that 73 percent agreed that burglars avoid occupied homes because they fear being shot.

Take away people's guns, therefore, and many people would become the actual rather than merely the intended victim of a crime.

Lance T. Izumi is a senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute in San Francisco. Comments about this column may be e-mailed c/o editor@statenet.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When One of Us Becomes One of Them

by Susan Rasky

Among the dozens of high level appointments Gray Davis has announced since his election last November, only one qualifies as a bona fide shocker to the reporters who cover politics in this state. I haven't polled the political press corps, but it's fair to say that a group of folks not generally known for shyness was stunned into public silence when Davis named one of our own, Phil Trounstine, as his communications director.

Lest anybody wonder whether we've been mum out of cowardice — not wanting to bite the hand that soon will feed us — or out of some kind of professional conceit, that's not what's going on here. Trounstine, who left his post as political editor at the *San Jose Mercury News*, is a savvy, aggressive reporter and, to many of us, a personal friend. He is well respected by fellow journalists and by politicians he's covered.

How do we treat Trounstine now? And how should he treat us?

The silence is about our complicated role in that most symbiotic of relationships — the one between newspeople and politicians: us and them. There's an invisible but critical line that every journalist draws in his or her own way to maintain the distinction. And when somebody crosses it, in either direction, it's as though we all must pause to re-adjust our compasses. How do we treat Trounstine now? And how should he treat us? Do the Davis people assume that his inside knowledge of *us* will produce the kind of stories *they* want? And what will happen to him when that assumption goes awry?

Part of what makes it so awkward is that political journalists and political aides or consultants have not only a symbiotic relationship but also a *special* relationship that differs from the one journalists have with actual officeholders or candidates. Maybe that's because some of our professional skills — writing, talking, thinking around corners — are similar.

It is hardly unusual for politicians to reach into the ranks of the press corps to staff their communications operations. If anything, it was the norm at the national level well into the middle part of this century, and David Gergen's stint at the Clinton White House serves as a recent example. I can name off the top of my head nearly a dozen California newspeople who have made, with varying degrees of success and contentment, the transition to politics going back to Pat Brown's days.

Here's just a few: Bill Stahl, now an editorial writer at the *Los Angeles Times*, left the press corps to work as Governor Jerry Brown's press secretary. Jack Burby from the *Times* served as press secretary to Governor Pat Brown. Larry Thomas, who started out as a reporter in San Diego, became then-Mayor Pete Wilson's press secretary, and subsequently served Governor George Deukmejian in the same capacity. The late Otto Bos also was a reporter who served Wilson. Sigrid Bathen, a *Sacramento Bee* reporter, left journalism for a stint as press secretary to Wilson Riles and later to John Van de Kamp, and is now senior editor at this magazine.

Michael Reese was the Los Angeles bureau chief for *Time* Magazine before he joined then- Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's office as press secretary and later became a senior campaign adviser to gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown. Reaching back a bit further, former reporters Hale Champion and Lucien Hass went to work for Governor Pat Brown. Lynn Nofziger and Pierre Salinger slid directly from reporting jobs to careers as high-level political operatives who eventually served presidents. And of course there is former Senator Alan Cranston, who was a United Press reporter before embarking on his political career.

The real change in the relationship between journalists and politicians is the movement in the other direction — from politics to the media, particularly the electronic media. Pat Buchanan, George Stephanopolous, Bill Kristol, Bill Press, Chris Matthews, Susan Molinari, Tony Blankley, Dee Dee Meyers, take your pick.It's easy to blame cable television and talk radio for blurring the lines, but the lines always were blurred, and only the general public was in the dark about it.

Which brings me full circle to Trounstine.

Yesterday, he was a colleague on the campaign trail, a tough competitor on deadline, a collaborator in the effort to understand and report what goes on behind the scenes in modern electioneering and governance. He was very good at that part, maybe even seduced by it.

Tomorrow, as a shaper of the governor's message, he will be part of the spin machine. And once everybody adjusts, we'll all know what to do again. In the meantime, it seemed like somebody ought to say that to Phil in print and to publicly wish him well.

Contributing editor Susan Rasky teaches journalism at the University of California, Berkeley. Comments on her column may be e-mailed c/o editor@statenet.com.

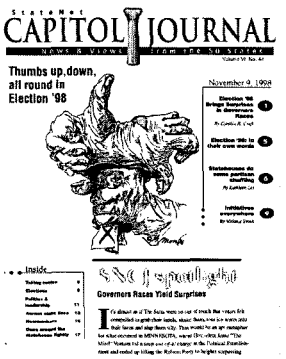
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Journal & State Net Publications

California Journal

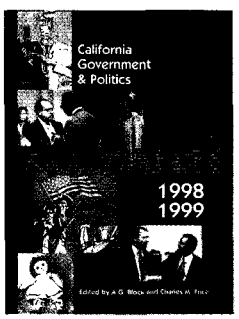
Each month *California Journal* brings its readers lively, nonpartisan reporting on the politics, people and issues at the cutting edge of the nation's leading state. The award-winning *Journal* contains articles on issues, profiles of state decision makers, and lively columns, all presented in an inviting, readable format. *$39.95 annual subscription.*

State Net Capitol Journal—California



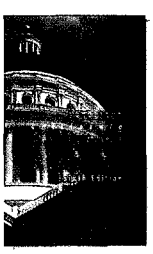
Capitol Journal is *the* publication about political life in the nation's largest and most vibrant state. Reported and written by the editors of the *California Journal*, it has the feel of a newsletter but the impact of a magazine. The weekly is a miniature California Journal, with hard-hitting analysis of key issues and hot election races. The daily provides news stories, legislative floor session schedules, committee hearings, Capitol rallies, news conferences as well as client registrations among the lobbying corps and more. No one whose livelihood depends on events in the Capitol can afford to be without this detailed, informative, and insightful publication. *Daily & weekly. FAX, Web or E-mail delivery. $480. Also available: 50-State SNCJ & weeklies in MA, PA, IL, and OH.*

California Government and Politics Annual



Includes a brief overview and reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the three branches of government, politics and elections, lobbying, finance, local government, direct democracy, and other issues. *8½x11", 96 pages. $8.95, paper.*

Coming this summer, the new California Political Almanac, 1999-2000 edition



Candid analysis of every California member of the Assembly, Senate and Congress, as well as constitutional officers. Includes chapters on the bureaucracy, lobbyists, media, local government and more. 570 pages.

California Roster & Government Guide

This 8½x11" Roster contains the name, address, telephone number, top staff and district offices of every member of the Assembly, state Senate, and Congress plus constitutional officers and state departments. Includes 195 photos, legislative process chart, and committee memberships. *Annual, 40 pages, $3.50. Bulk discounts available.*

California Pocket Roster

This handy, pocket-sized roster contains names, addresses, telephone numbers, top staff and district offices of every member of the Assembly, state Senate, and our members of Congress plus biographical information, district descriptions, committees, offices of the legislature, and much more. *Annual, 144 pages, $9.95. Bulk discounts available.*

California Local Government Directory

Lists every city and county with its top appointed officials, their addresses and phone numbers. More than 9,000 listings. *Annual, 300 pages, $60.*

California Lobbyists/ PACs Directory

Incudes complete listings for 1,000 lobbyists, 300 firms, 2,000 employers and 1,500 political action commmittees. *Annual, 225 pages. $40.*

California State Government Directory

Loose-leaf with quarterly updates. Names, photographs, bios, district descriptions, addresses, phones, party affiliations, committees and staff for the Legislature. State departments, boards and commissions and their top staff. Indexed with more than 2,600 listings. *Quarterly, 170 pages, $125.*

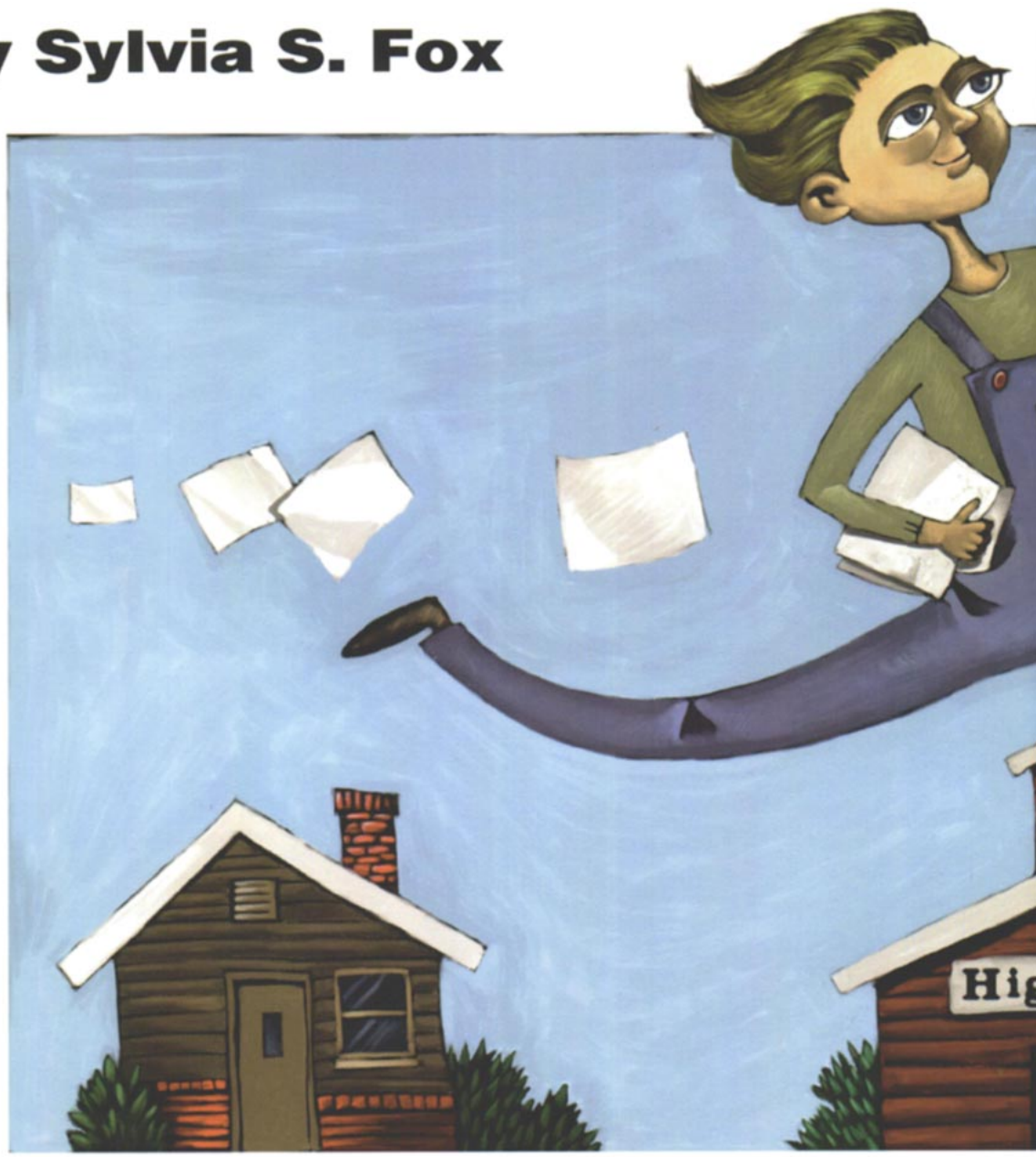
Call now to order: (800) 726-4566
or (916) 444-0840
or FAX (916) 446-5369

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Leapfroggers

Here's one way to bypass junior high school: Go straight to community college. This growing trend is yet one more sign of the failings of California's public schools. But it also raises questions of fairness and may soon force college and community officials to stiffen priorities for admission.

By Sylvia S. Fox



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Salinas seventh-grade teacher Jeff Swedberg made a bargain with his 13-year-old son in 1993. If Eron took — and passed — an aeronautics class at a community college, Jeff would pay for the flying lessons his son had been begging for.

Eron ended up flying a Cessna — right out of the local school system and into a tailor-made curriculum with community college course work at its core. In addition to learning through volunteering and through home-based projects, Eron got his education by taking college classes in computer animation, physics and welding. He never went back to high school, choosing instead to take the California High School Proficiency Exam at 15. At 18, Eron is now a junior at California State University, San Jose, majoring in computer engineering and working part-time for a Silicon Valley research institute at an age when most of his peers are still trying to choose a college. His 15-year-old brother, Karson, is following his big brother, passing the proficiency exam and studying oceanography, math and English at Cabrillo College in Santa Cruz County.

But the boys' mother, a former teacher of gifted children who now teaches English as a second language, says that, as proud as she is of her sons, "By no means are they geniuses or prodigies." On the contrary, Eron and Karson are part of an emerging stream of bored teenagers who are leapfrogging right over junior high and high schools and into community colleges — all because of a growing dissatisfaction with California public education.

Wanda Garner, chair of math, science and engineering at Cabrillo College, said the number of young teens on campus increased "exponentially" in the past few years. Garner attributed the trend to Cabrillo's location in Santa Cruz county where alternative education and home-schooling are popular. "I don't think this happened at all when I first came," Garner said.

Cabrillo Director of Admissions Gloria Garing concurs. "I think it's everywhere," she said.

Community colleges have always hosted an occa-

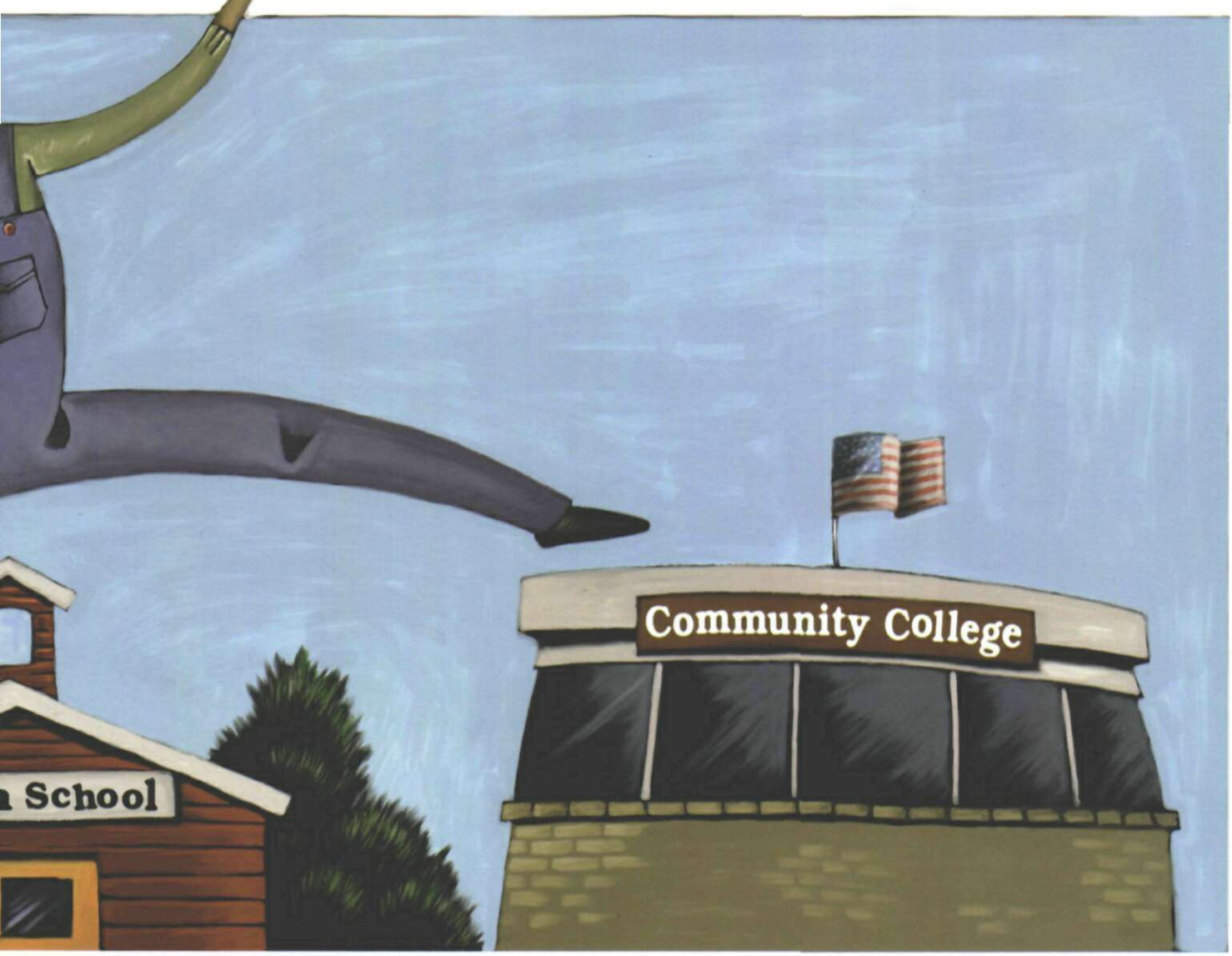


Illustration by Anthony Strom

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sional young prodigy or two, but the number of junior-high and high-school-age students seeking access to more classes is now visibly on an upswing across the state. And this trend is causing problems for some community colleges and raises questions of fairness. Should, for instance, younger students who could remain in junior or senior high take up college slots that otherwise might go to adults with no other educational opportunities?

Complaint-driven

The list of complaints students air about public high school is relatively consistent, according to Wes Beach, founder of a program in Soquel that graduates an average of 125 students per year. His students have left school and quickly earn diplomas from Beach High School by writing an introspective essay and providing a letter of support from someone who knows them well. Beach said they're tired of the repetitive coursework, having to work below-level, a lack of electives, and the social environment. The single most-voiced complaint, he said, is that students don't feel respected as individuals. He says the students usually have some piece of a larger world view, whether it comes from travel, working or a profound life experience.

"Public schools are about passivity and conformity, and it takes a lot of guts to stand up to that," said Beach, formerly a public and private school teacher for 32 years. Most of his graduates enroll in college immediately. In the past several years, he has sent 100 youths to Cabrillo College.

Greg Quigley, principal at the San Mateo Middle College High School, says his transitional high school at San Mateo College is for middle-of-the-road students who have "outgrown" high school, been through challenges in their lives and have had to grow up a lot faster. Jointly administered and funded by the college and school district, 60 students are currently spending their junior and senior years on the San Mateo Community College campus, enrolled in high school English, American government and political science with high school teachers and devoting the rest of their time to college-level electives. They receive both high school and college credit, and graduate with diplomas from their home district high schools.

These students, Quigley said, left high school because they hated the petty incidents that arise, the social cliques and the lack of challenge.

"They came to get away from people watching them every minute," Quigley said. He said these students haven't been successful in high school because they haven't been given the necessary support. Statewide, a typical high school counselor is responsible for shepherding as many as 500 to 700 students, leaving little opportunity for meaningful mentoring.

In many California communities, a program called the Middle College High School is providing an answer to student demands for more advanced work and more independence. The program has taken hold at, among other campuses, Contra Costa College in San Pablo, Merritt Col-

Rally 'Round the Rig
Tuesday, February 16, 11:30 a.m.
State Capitol
Endangered Species
California's independent "energy farmers" pump affordable energy from "marginal" oil and gas wells that the big oil giants won't mess with — forming an important part of our energy equation.
These small business entrepreneurs make a huge contribution to California's economy, providing thousands of good-paying jobs and generating millions in revenue every year.
But our independent "energy farmers" are in danger of extinction. And their loss would be our loss — in jobs, revenue and higher energy prices.
To find out what can be done to save them, "Rally 'Round the Rig" with us on February 16 at the State Capitol — and keep the energy flowing.
California Independent Petroleum Association
1112 I Street #350, Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 447-1177 • www.cipa.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lege in Oakland, San Jose City College, Evergreen Valley College in San Jose, DeAnza College in Cupertino and Foothill College in Los Altos Hills.

Fifteen-year-old Karisa Cloward is enrolled in 12 units of classes at Consumnes River College in Sacramento as part of an arrangement with Lincoln Charter School in Placer County. For Karisa, it is the college environment that makes a difference.

When you go to college, you're there because you want to be there. In high school, you're there because you have to be there...

"[Even] if they gave you more choices [in high school], it wouldn't change the genre. There's so much more maturity at college," Karisa explains. She says she has a lot more freedom, autonomy and control over her educational destiny — an immense improvement over high school, she says, where the majority of students feel forced into attendance because "it's the law." In such an atmosphere, teachers focus less on instruction and more on getting control of the class.

"At college you are there for you, not because you have to be there," Karisa said.

Eron Swedberg, the young pilot, said he appreciates the opportunity that college gives him to get a lot accomplished academically. During his first semester at San Jose State as a transfer student, Eron has already advanced to differential equations and is enrolled in linear algebra for the spring. Had he remained in high school, he would have been held to each level for the entire year and not finished calculus.

Eron said that, in his view, the quality of instruction in high school is lacking.

"When you go to college, you're there because you want to be there. In high school, you're there because you have to be there, and it makes it harder for the teachers to do a good job," he said.

His father, Jeff Swedberg, supports this. Seventy percent of the seventh graders at his school perform at the fourth-grade level or lower in standardized tests, with only 14 percent scoring at the seventh-grade level or above.

"You can have a fantastic teacher, doing his or her best but the situation itself is limiting when student skills range from first through 12th grade within the same classroom," he said. He estimates 20 percent of his students would thrive if he could offer the kind of education his sons are getting. "The essence is motivation," Swedberg said.

Testing the waters

Most teenagers who start college early usually test the waters by enrolling in an elective class that appeals to a personal interest — or after taking an isolated, required math or science class.

Wilton resident Bonnie Sellstrom's two sons started classes at Consumnes at 15 after they "started asking questions I didn't have answers for." Rather than stifling their curiosity, she said, she decided to see what the community college had to offer.

Sellstrom said she told them not to worry about course requirements but to pick what struck them as interesting. She said instructors were not opposed because they appreciated the interest her sons showed in learning. Each took one class the first semester to get acclimated. For Kevin, it was a class in welding; for Gary, it was computer science.

Sellstrom says she sent her sons to college at 15 not because they excelled academically but because she favored "expanding their horizons and giving them an opportunity to explore advanced education."

Now 22, Kevin Sellstrom has been working with special-needs children for four years. He plans to transfer to California State University, Sacramento, next year to pursue a teaching credential in special education. Gary started with computers, took auto mechanics and other classes and works as a bike mechanic at a downtown Sacramento bicycle shop. He hasn't decided what to do next.

"What's the hurry?" Bonnie Sellstrom asks. "He's only 19."

Jeff Swedberg shares her lack of urgency. Sending kids to community college is about wanting to see them develop, he said. "It shouldn't be about parents who want to push their kids."

Admissions and Records Director Sam Sandusky said the youngest students usually start with art and math classes at Sacramento City College, and that maturity is always taken into consideration.

"I'm not sure I'd want a 10-year-old in chemistry — and human sexuality classes would be too graphic," Sandusky said.

A list of classes not appropriate for students under 18 has been generated at Cabrillo College, including courses such as life drawing, welding and self-defense, although enforcing these age limits is left up to the instructor.

Jeff Swedberg said he's run across some instructors who are wary about including a 15-year-old or younger teen in their classes. Karson's oceanography class included a trip on a catamaran in Monterey Bay and helping high school kids in biology. But the instructor warned Karson he would have to complete alternative assignments because he was too young.

"I told him, 'Hang in there and be responsible. Break down that barrier that you're 15,'" said Swedberg. Karson ended up winning his instructors confidence and participated in both assignments.

How many students?

Experts say it is impossible to compile an accurate count of how many students under age 18 are currently attending California community colleges. This is because campus administrators don't differentiate between various types of high school diplomas, nor do they verify

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

transcripts. California community colleges operate under an open admission policy, admitting anyone over the age of 18 regardless of whether they hold a high school diploma — or anyone under 18 who has a diploma or has passed the California High School Proficiency Exam.

At Cabrillo College, Garing said it would be would be a "pretty horrendous" task if her staff had to verify the more than 10,000 applications received each semester. Sacramento City College officials worried that doing so might ruffle the feathers of student groups.

Alternative learning students under 18 can obtain diplomas from private schools of five students or less — primarily home-schooling families. Each home school can file an affidavit each October notifying the California State Board of Education of the school's existence. Requirements include keeping up-to-date attendance records and not hiring convicted felons. Only school districts can interact with these private schools, but most do not bother to monitor home schools.

The number of these tiny private schools has more than doubled in less than 10 years, from 3,725 to more than 8,100 in 1997. The figure grows larger when you take into account home-schooling families who have chosen not to file, notes Ron Reid, research analyst with the California Department of Education.

Leapfrogging right to the proficiency exam is another way to enroll in college as a younger student. This alternative was established in the mid-1970s for "bright but bored" teens looking for a way to opt out of high school early and is still used frequently by home-schoolers, according to Norma Carolan, a consultant with the California Board of Education Office of Policy and Evaluation. Students can take the exam if they are 16 or older, have completed the 10th grade (or are enrolled in the second semester of the 10th grade). The majority of these test-takers are 16 and 17 years old. However, anyone under 16 can take the test if referred by a school counselor or principal, or by a home-school parent. Carolan said that home-schoolers often take the test early because they typically study more advanced material.

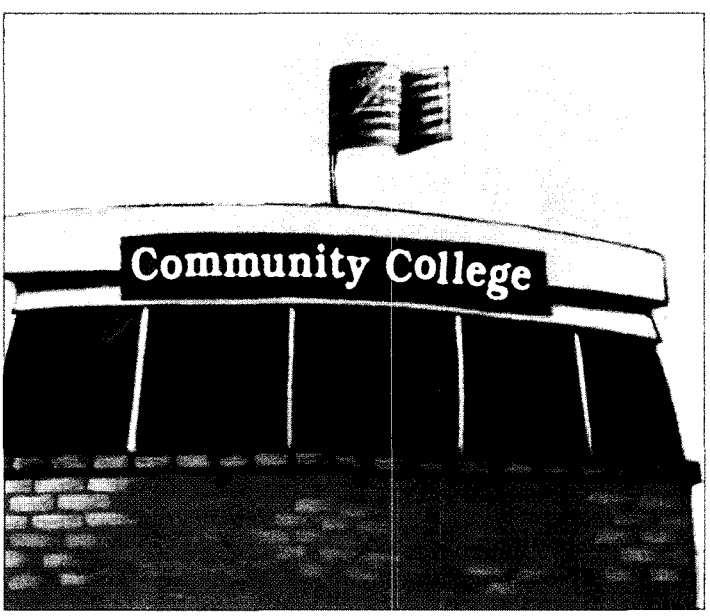
Squeezing out others

But some administrators and policy-makers worry that the growing population of teens on community college campuses is squeezing adults out of the high-school equivalency classes that they need.

Vice President of Instruction Claire Biancalana said increasing teen attendance at Cabrillo College in Santa Cruz County has become a very serious issue — and now a compromise must be found so youths don't fill up classes

One family's personal tale of educating teens in community colleges

by Sylvia S.Fox



Because I report on education, this story hits closer to home than normal. In fact, my sons began taking community college classes at 13 and 14 years old.

It was with great fear and trepidation that my husband and I pulled each son out of school after their first year of junior high, promising them we would never make them go back if they didn't choose to but by God, they would be educated. Eventually, with guesses and some successes, missteps and support from some veteran home-schooling parents, our boys landed in the local community college.

It was the most fortuitous move we made, never guessing how profoundly it would affect them.

Our oldest son had always been more interested in anything mechanical and visual but struggled with what he considered non-relevant topics — English and history topping the list. He began volunteering at a nature center and the animal shelter, playing around with photography, as well as taking math and English with college-aged tutors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they could easily take at high school instead.

New policies are aimed at heading off students still enrolled in high school – but concurrently enrolled in college – from subjects such as lower division math and science classes that are available at their high schools. Cabrillo administrators are also seeking to limit concurrently enrolled high school students to six units or less — as well as to address issues of maturity. But both the heads of the math and English divisions at Cabrillo question whether it is ever appropriate to have teens taking college courses available at their high schools, displacing adults who have no other place to go for their education.

Garner said more than 700 students were on a waiting list for Algebra I and Algebra II classes for the fall 1998 semester, even after 20 sections of each were offered, with enrollments of 40 students each. She estimates between 200 to 300 of the 800 enrolled students were high-school-aged students.

"It's a negative statement about our educational system if our clientele is under 18," Garner said.

Linda Kitz, chair of the English department at Cabrillo, said 65 percent or more of the high school students place into the basic – and highest-impacted – English course, displacing working adults, single mothers and others. She said that of 29 students in an English 1A class with a waiting list of more than a dozen, three were high school students, one of whom confided she had been counseled to take the class at Cabrillo rather than at her high school to free up time for more senior-year electives.

"What's fair about that?" Kitz asked.

Diana Sloan, district vice chancellor for educational services in the Los Rios Community College District in Sacramento, said administrators are reluctant to shut anyone out of classes. But with a limited number of seats available, the district must also give thought to who they are mandated to serve.

"The issue that Cabrillo is taking up is a real one," Sloan said, "but you can't say this seat is saved for other people."

Sandusky said the Los Rios district is not yet so packed with students that fairness is an issue, but administrators are working with local schools to come up with consistent policies for concurrent enrollment. "I don't ever want to be a substitute for high school," he said. "We've always encouraged people to complete high school. But I don't think we're to the point of wanting to discourage these kids from coming here," he said. "They're good students."

Sylvia S. Fox is a professor of journalism at California State University, Sacramento. Comments on this article may be e-mailed c/o editor@statenet.com.

One day, we handed him the Sacramento City College catalog and encouraged him to choose classes he thought would interest him. He did, eventually landing in a wonderful electronics program where instructors continue to mentor and challenge him. Those electronics teachers have gently guided him back to the general education courses that he thought he hated so much, and he now plans to graduate in electronic technology in May, just as he reaches his 19th birthday.

Taking him out of public school also allowed him the freedom to take time off for other adventures and opportunities. At 15, he signed up as an apprentice deckhand on a schooner in the Caribbean for the winter. This fall, he traveled up and down the California coast on the *Californian,* the official tall ship that teaches environmental education and sail training to California youth.

Our younger son, always the academician, already has taken more than 60 units at the community college, exploring courses from chemistry and statistics to history and music. Now 16, he will wait to transfer to a four-year college when his high school friends also come of age, while we encourage him to take his time and take a variety of classes whose only value is that they are interesting. He has tutored all ages in math and chemistry, working summers as a camp counselor at an aquatics camp, and now works at the ice skating rink.

Both sons are happy, challenged and have high grade-point averages.

Is this our sons' success story? Of course, but it is more.

Our teenagers are telling us they are capable of and want much more than what they are offered. They want independence and aren't afraid to earn it. They want to be treated as adults.

But don't just believe me; listen to them. They say their college classes are quiet and everyone is there because they want to be.

They don't have to be at school if they don't have a class.

They eat when they are hungry between classes.

When they aren't in class, they may do their homework in the math lab, the computer lab, the language lab.

School doesn't always start at 8 a.m. And it doesn't always get out at 2 p.m. Nor should it, they say.

If they want computer programming classes, they sign up for them. Electronics? Japanese? Golf? Trigonometry? Just fit it into the schedule.

Hate your algebra teacher's lecture? Take a different section. Or put up with it. Your decision.

And the age difference? They say that within the first few weeks of class, it doesn't make a difference, that the exchange of information is the great equalizer among students.

When our friends confide, in awe, that their children would never be responsible enough to learn the way our sons are learning, I wonder. Absolutely, the course we have chosen is based on a lot of freedom, responsibility and trust.

But mostly, I believe our kids don't cut class because it wouldn't occur to them. And it's not what their college peers do either. It's not the culture.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eduspeak

The world of public education has a language all its own — which may be unintelligible to many reporters and their readers. But as education comes increasingly to the forefront as a policy issue, that language needs to be translated.

By Sigrid Bathen

The Education Writers Association recently issued a "glossary of education terms" for its members, and anybody else who wants to visit their website (www.ewa.org). It starts with terms such as "alternative assessment" ("any form of measuring what students know and are able to do than traditional standardized tests") and "basal readers" ("elementary school books that incorporate simple stories") and moves on to "outcomes-based education" ("focuses more on goals, or outcomes, than on 'inputs'") and "performance-based assessment" ("also known as authentic assessment").

And those are only the simpler terms. It can get much worse, as any education writer called upon to explain the terminology for a general-circulation reading audience — or hapless parent attending a school board meeting for the first time — can attest.

Rarely has public education in California — or, for that matter, in the rest of the country — held the interest of politicians so intensely, or for so long. But, like most political fads, education reform often suffers from a failure to define the terms. After all, the system had crashed and nearly burned as a result of political disinterest, plummeting schools of the wealthiest state in the nation to the bottom of the heap in performance and funding; suddenly, it was a "front-burner" issue.

As a result, news organizations that traditionally gave education short shrift started devoting heavy, though often simplistic or sensationalist, coverage to the subject. Political reporters, knowing a trend issue when they saw one, showed up regularly at the increasing numbers of news events, staged and otherwise, created by politicians to showcase their newfound interest in the education crisis. Reporters perplexed by the dizzying depths of education jargon zoned out during interminable meetings of the state Board of Education, which sets policy for the state's schools and until recently was far down on the priority coverage list of most news organizations. TV crews struggled to get something, anything, suitable for a short shot, often of other reporters taking notes, with a reasonably intelligible sound bite for the evening news.

As education increasingly has risen to center stage in recent years, several statewide education groups, notably the California School Boards Association and the teachers' unions — realizing the education industry's need for some serious, understandable public relations — have held cordial, well-attended "news briefings," sometimes over lunch, for reporters largely unschooled in "eduspeak." The educators trot out reams of charts and financial analyses, reporters ask a few questions, eat their lunches, and leave with fat packets of information many would never use or understand. It was like walking into a meeting of some secret society with its own language.

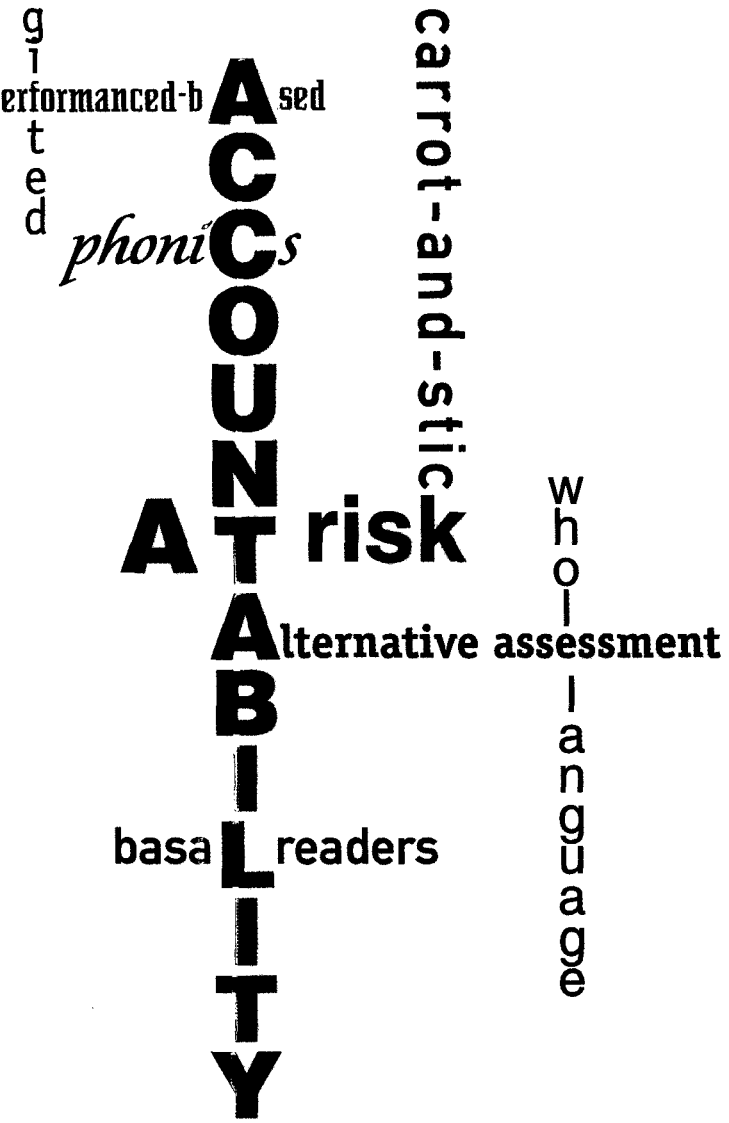
One of the key words in the language of Eduspeak these days is "accountability." Basically, this means the folks actually running the schools — mainly teachers and principals — will somehow be held "accountable" for student performance. "Either they will get better — or they will be encouraged to find another line of work" as Governor Gray Davis, uncharacteristically pugnacious, said in his inaugural address this past January.

Accountability is a political and legal quagmire of major proportions, as North Carolina state education officials enforcing a controversial new accountability law are quickly learning. They were recently sued by two teachers dismissed by state evaluators under the law, then promptly rehired by the local school board. It is a case being watched throughout the country, and illustrative of the complex dimensions of education law and policy.

Educational accountability as buzzword and media cliche took on new meaning — if no clear definition — at the outset of the fledgling Davis administration. Three weeks after Davis' 20-point victory over Republican Dan Lungren, nary a press conference had been held, not a cabinet appointment made. Although many press releases had spewed from the transition office of the then-governor-elect — and one hastily scheduled telephone conference call had been held to announce initial transition plans — the ordinarily voluble and accommodating Davis had not met face-to-face with reporters since that heady election night November 3.

Then, just before Thanksgiving and the first, five-hour meeting of his much-heralded, blue-ribbon education task

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



force, Davis' press handlers made a last-minute announcement that the boss would meet with reporters via telephone conference call after the closed-door meeting in Los Angeles.

At the appointed hour, news media representatives from throughout the state — most of them political reporters, with a smattering of education writers from the major papers — waited silently for the governor-elect, or rather his voice, to show up. It was oddly quiet, though you could hear papers shuffling, an occasional cough or the muffled strains of a radio or TV program. If you arrived on time, or a few minutes after the scheduled time, you might not have known you were even in the right place; there was no conference gatekeeper save the AT&T teleconferencing system with its computerized voiceover.

Finally, the governor-elect got on the line, sounding affable, tired, and extremely cautious about discussing specifics of the closed-door meeting. He called it "an extraordinarily good meeting" in which "not one person pushed their own agenda." He said he "reiterated [his] priorities to lift student performance across the board." He gave the date of the next meeting.

After pressing Davis for more specifics — indeed, any specifics — on his education plan (this was, after all, a task force to recommend legislative and policy proposals for Davis' education agenda), the reporters mostly gave up. A few ventured into the shadowy world of eduspeak after Davis raised, but did not elaborate on, his plans for holding school officials "accountable" for student performance, or lack it. No one, least of all Davis, sought actually to define the word in real terms for real California classrooms.

Reporters sorting through the education miasma will confront not only a huge glut of existing regulations and laws, but a predictable deluge of bills by image-conscious legislators, many with little knowledge of the field. Some experts question whether new legislation is the answer. Scott Plotkin, chief consultant to the Senate Education Committee, says most education reform can be accomplished administratively and via new policy directions, "though we will have to come up with something on accountability." An accountability measure was vetoed by Governor Pete Wilson last session, and the new administration is faced with no fewer, or less vexing, barriers to consensus on a fair and legally binding measure in a field fraught with land mines both political and legal.

Until recently, with some notable exceptions, education coverage historically has been regarded by some editors as "soft" news, often assigned, like elementary school teaching, to women. At most papers (broadcast coverage was rare), it involved covering local school board meetings and, in the state Capitol, legislative issues and, occasionally, the state board and superintendent. Depending on the news medium's commitment to the subject, it can mean an extremely heavy workload, especially if the reporter ever wants to have time to get to the real stories of education, those beyond the boardroom and actually inside the classroom. Perhaps because education has not been a heavily covered subject in most media until recent years, the business of education has been conducted largely out of public view, with the players in the business of education talking mostly to each other, the wheel being endlessly reinvented as they speak, the jargon becoming increasingly dense and difficult to decipher.

And then there's the matter of what reporters and their bosses choose to cover— and how they cover it. A recent study commissioned by the Education Writers Association concluded that readers and viewers often aren't getting the education news they want and need from the media. Readers want "more substance and less conflict," according to the study, and were more interested in reading about the schools than about crime. TV news directors take note: "There is something about agitating people constantly and then walking away," said Steve Farkas of the Public Agenda Foundation, a non-profit, nonpartisan group which conducted the study. "You have to give them solutions."

Senior Editor Sigrid Bathen, a former Sacramento Bee *education writer who also served as press secretary to then-Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles, covers education for the* California Journal. *She can be reached at sigridb@statenet.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Like a bull

The newest chancellor of the 350,000-student California State University, Charles Reed, approaches the job like the linebacker he was, leading the nation's largest college system at a time of unprecedented change and a breaking tidal wave of Boomers II.

By Sigrid Bathen

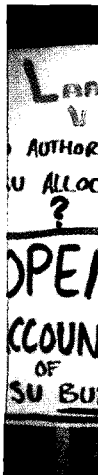
"Finally, we overcame the perception that the only thing they could do in Florida was play football and pick cotton."
— Florida State University Chancellor Charles Reed, in a 1997 interview.

When Charles ("please, call me Charlie") Reed was chancellor of the Florida State University system, he would periodically take a day off from his regular job to work unannounced in the trenches of academe — in a college admissions office ("the lines were horrible"), as a maintenance worker, in a campus power plant, a student health center and at least once a year as a university police officer during a big football game in a state where folks take their football very seriously.

"Being a policeman on the night shift during homecoming at the University of Florida will teach you things you will never see in the office," he says.

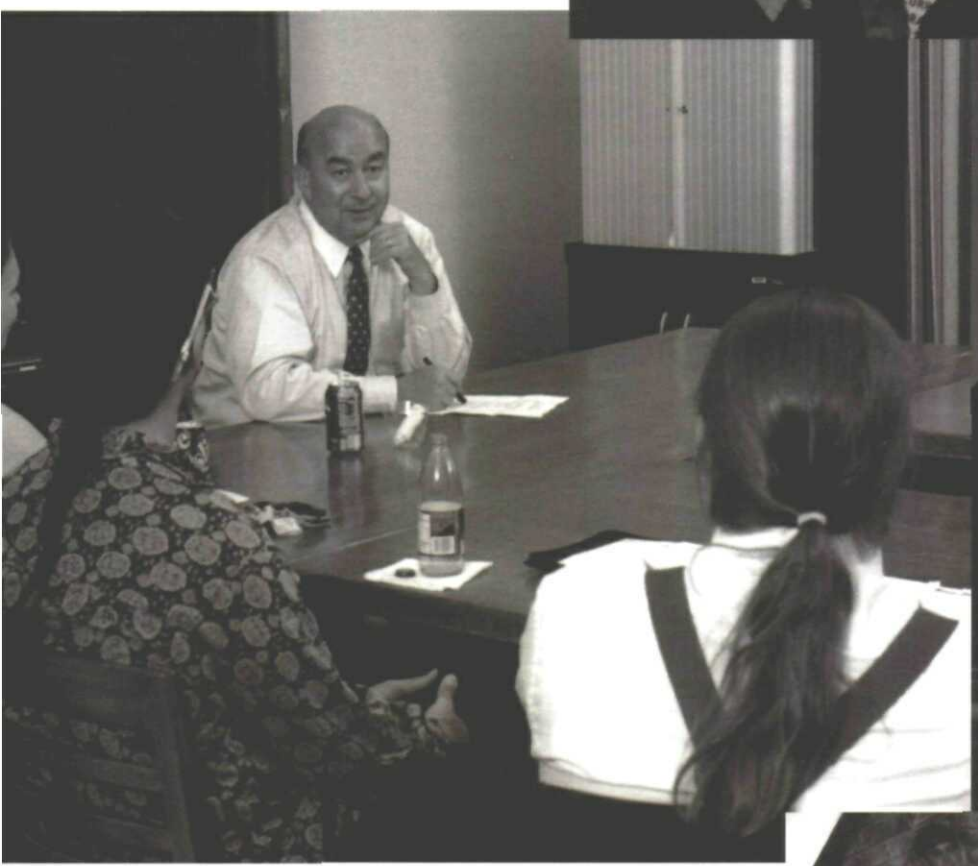
It is vintage Reed — get to the heart of a problem from the ground up, then deal with it. If one fails — which he insists rarely occurs over the long haul — he draws on his high school and college football years: "Pick yourself up, dust yourself off, and try again tomorrow."

Nothing if not tenacious — "like a bulldog," is perhaps the most frequently heard description — Reed has thundered into California's $3 billion state university system at a critical juncture. Like much of public education in California, it is a system under severe scrutiny, charged with providing high-quality, affordable education and responsible, among other things, for training teachers and nurses in a state with serious shortages of both. It is a daunting task under the best of circumstances, complicated by an aging, dissatisfied senior faculty threatened by the increasing use of part-time, non-tenured lecturers,

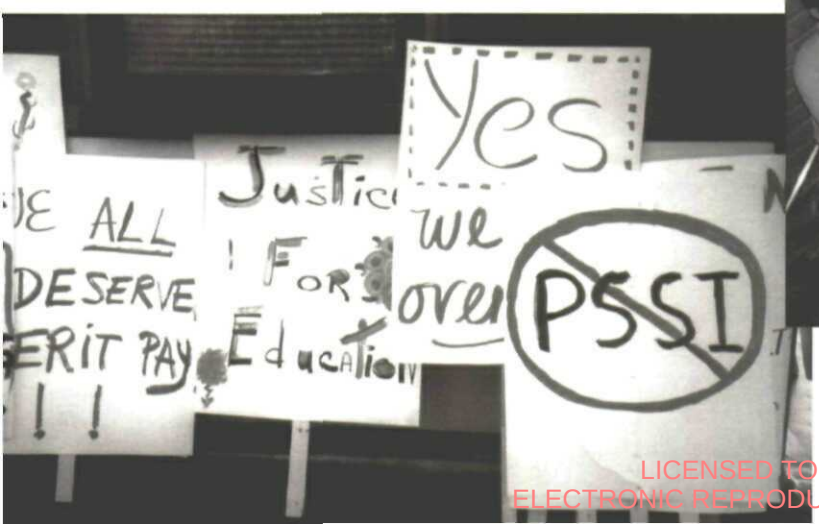


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dog



(clockwise from top right): Faculty members picket a CSU Trustees meeting during a contract dispute; CSU Chancellor Charles Reed; with gifted teens in early entrance program at CSU-LA; more pickets; Reed meets with student leaders at CSU-Chico. Photos courtesy of CSU Public Affairs and California Faculty Association.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Charles Reed

perhaps even the end of tenure itself — and facing a tsunami, the so-called "Tidal Wave II," of the boomers' college-age babies all grown up and ready to matriculate.

"One of the things that attracted me to California was the mission of Cal State," says Reed. "It attracts people who ordinarily may not have a chance to go to college, to better themselves and get a degree, to improve their quality of life, improve their community, help their families. It really is the people's university." But not, in his view, inclusive enough. Determined to open up the 23 CSU campuses to 24-hour, year-round operation, with increased use of technology for classes by cable and Internet, Reed has run into a brick wall of resistance in some quarters, mainly among the faculty unions, but vows to knock down the wall, or, better yet, walk through it.

"My single biggest surprise in coming here is how Cal State doesn't operate on a year-round basis," he says. "I am going to work as hard as I can to have us operate 12 months a year, six or seven days a week, 12 or 14 hours a day. That means more night classes, more weekend classes — and having faculty on campus six days a week. And faculty don't like hearing this. I represent change, and they don't like change."

Tough words, which haven't endeared the burly ex-football player to the CSU Academy.

"He's a decent human being who is misguided and does not quite understand the California situation yet," says California Faculty Association President Terry Jones, a sociology professor at CSU-Hayward. "I think there is hope for him. And I think he is significantly better than our previous chancellor."

That would be the mercurial Barry Munitz, now head of the J. Paul Getty Trust, transition director for Governor Gray Davis and arch enemy of faculty unions over proposals deemed a threat to faculty tenure and academic freedom. Though reportedly hand-picked by Munitz to succeed him (there were no other candidates), Reed does not seem to inspire the same level of animus, perhaps because of his homespun style.

The son of a Navy man who worked in the coal mines of western Pennsylvania, the oldest of seven children, Reed, 57, was born in Harrisburg and raised in Waynesburg, site of the largest bituminous coal mine in the world, where a minuscule number of residents are, or become, college graduates. The first in his family to graduate from college — one of three siblings to do so — he recalls his father's admonition when he turned 17: "'Charlie, you can either get a job next year, or a scholarship.' That was reality."

A high school quarterback, Reed won a full football scholarship to George Washington University in Washington, D.C., majoring in health and physical education, then stayed to earn master's and doctoral degrees in education, working several part-time jobs. He taught at George Washington for seven years, rising to an associate professor. He married his seventh-grade sweetheart, the former Catherine Sayers, in 1964; they have two children, a 31-year-old son, a money manager in Atlanta, Georgia, and a daughter, 29, who works for IBM in Raleigh, North Carolina.

After giving a speech about school reform in 1971, Reed was offered a job in the Florida Department of Education, where he coordinated educational policy and legislative relations. Working closely with the state Legislature, he caught the eye of Democratic state Senator Bob Graham, then chair of the Appropriations Committee and later Florida's governor. Reed, a Democrat, went with Graham to the governor's office as education coordinator, moving on to become the governor's chief of staff. "The best education I ever received was those seven and one-half years as chief of staff to the governor. Your perspective, your insights and leadership, decision-making, crisis management, planning and budgets — all those come together in the governor's office."

Known as a tough, savvy political operative, Reed gets high marks for his lobbying skills from friend and foe alike. Steve Uhlfelder, chairman of the Florida state Board of Regents, called him "relentless" in pursuit of his goals. Proclaiming Reed "probably the best politician in all of Tallahassee," Florida state Representative Bill Sublette (R-Orlando), chair of an educational funding committee in the Florida Legislature, said, "I found out very quickly

Reed at CSU Chico

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

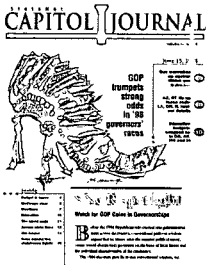
California Journal

Each month *California Journal* brings its readers lively, nonpartisan reporting on politics, people and issues on the cutting edge of the nation's leading state. The award-winning *Journal* contains articles on issues, profiles of state decision makers, and intelligent columns, all presented in an inviting, readable format.

$39.95

annual subscription

State Net CAPITOL JOURNAL



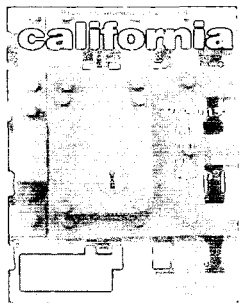
Capitol Journal is *the* publication about political life in the nation's largest and most vibrant state. Reported and written by the editors of *California Journal*, it has the feel of a newsletter but the impact of a magazine.

The daily gives news stories, schedules for legislative floor sessions, committee hearings, Capitol rallies, news conferences, fund raisers and other Capitol events, as well as client registrations among the lobbying corps and more.

The weekly is a miniature *California Journal*, with hard-hitting analysis of key issues and hot election races. No one whose livelihood depends on events in the Capitol can afford to be without this detailed, informative, and insightful publication.

Annual Subscriptions:
Daily & Weekly $480

Give the *Journal* to a friend....



First Subscription: ❑ New ❑ Existing

- ❑ **Regular Individual Rate, $39.95**
- ❑ **Library or Government Agency, $59.00** (includes index)
- ❑ **Corporation or Association, $95.00** (includes index, reprint rights and Quick Query Service, which provides spot research on state government and politics.)

Your name _____
Organization _____
Address _____
City, State, Zip _____
Phone _____

❑ *GIFT SUBSCRIPTION:* $34.95 (different name & address from above)
Name _____
Address _____
City, State, Zip _____
For additional gifts at $34.95, attach list.

❑ Bill Me

❑ I have enclosed payment of $ _____

❑ **M/C, VISA or AM.EX#** _____ Exp ____
Signature _____ Phone _____

BOOKS/SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIPTIONS *(No sales tax or shipping)*
❑ **California Journal, $39.95**

State Net Capitol Journal - California
❑ **Daily & Weekly,** $480.00

ORDER NOW!

New 1999 Editions

❑ **Roster and Government Guide,** 1-2 copies, $3.50 ea.; 3-49 copies, $2.10 ea.; 50-99, $1.20 ea.; 100+, $.90 ea.

❑ **1999 California Pocket Roster,** 1-2 copies, $9.95 ea.; 3-9 copies, $7.45 ea.; 10-29, $4.95 ea.; 30-99, $2.25 ea.; 100+, $1.50 ea.

The California Directories
❑ State Government, $125.00 (looseleaf, inc. 3 quarterly updates)
❑ 1999 Lobbyists/PACs, $40.00
❑ 1999 Local Government, $60.00
❑ All three, $195.00

❑ **50-State Legislative Directory, 1999,** $95.00

❑ **Campaigning in California,** 1-2 copies, $4.95 ea.; 3-49 copies, $2.95 ea.; 50-99 copies, $2.35 ea.; 100+ copies, $1.49 ea.

❑ **Calif. Government & Politics Annual,** 1998-99, $8.95 ea.

❑ **California Political Almanac 1999-2000,** $34.95

❑ **California's Budget Dance,** 2nd Edition; $9.95

❑ **Political Action Handbook,** 1-2 copies, $3.95 ea.; 3-49 copies, $2.95 ea.; 50-99, $1.95 ea.; 100+, $1.49 ea.

Popular Books by Lou Cannon
❑ **President Reagan: Role of a Lifetime,** $9.95

❑ **Reporting: An Inside View,** $4.95

Journal Back Issues
❑ **Single issues of Journal,** $3.95 ea. Specify dates.
❑ **Complete years 1970-1998 with index,** $35.00 ea. Indicate year(s).
❑ ***Journal* Index,** $10.00 ea. Indicate year(s).

Ordering Information

Check or credit card number must accompany all orders.

Your Name _____
(Please Print)
Organization _____
Street Address _____
City, State & Zip _____
Phone _____ Ext___ Fax _____
Signature _____
M/C, Visa or AmEx# _____ Exp.____

Amount due:
Non-subscription subtotal _____
Tax: 7.75% _____
Shipping 10% *(min.$3.00-max.$75.00)* _____
Subscription subtotal _____
TOTAL _____

❑ **I have enclosed payment**
❑ **Charge to my credit card:**

FOR EVEN FASTER SERVICE, CALL (916) 444-2840

LICENSED TO LINZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO 3472 SACRAMENTO, CA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

2/99 N 3/99 N 4/99

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL
2101 K Street
Sacramento, CA 95816-8983

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO 3472 SACRAMENTO, CA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

2/99 N 3/99 N 4/99

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL
2101 K Street
Sacramento, CA 95816-8937

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

how overmatched I was."

Reed was tapped to head the 220,000-student Florida State University system in 1985, staying 12 years, longer than any previous chancellor, and seeing enrollment more than double in the 10-campus system, which, unlike the CSU, includes a mix of teaching and research institutions. By the time he left, federal funding for research in the Florida State system had ballooned from $165 million in 1985 to $750 million, and he was instrumental in landing a major national laboratory — the National High Magnetic Field Laboratory, one of 28 national labs — to be run by two Florida universities and the federal Los Alamos lab in New Mexico. Reed regards the lab deal as a critical juncture in the progress of the Florida system. "Finally," he said, "we overcame the perception that the only thing they could do in Florida was play football and pick cotton."

He also established a new university – one with three to five-year teaching contracts and no tenure. Unable to get faculty support for the contract proposal throughout the Florida system, Reed instead opted to try it in one place, Florida's Gulf Coast University. Faculty recruitment ads that ran in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Black Issues in Higher Education* and *Hispanic Outlook* in the spring of 1997 urged academics to "become a part of the rare academic adventure" in an institution committed to "new and innovative techniques" with a faculty willing to "experiment, assess, change and laugh." And, not coincidentally, live on Florida's sun-blessed southwest coast between Fort Myers and Naples.

Reed says there were 18,000 applicants — "mostly tenured faculty" at other institutions — for 120 faculty positions at Gulf Coast. According to a study of the new university funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts' Project on Faculty Appointments, 15 percent of the faculty relinquished tenured positions at other universities and 24 percent abandoned "tenure-track" positions to work there on contract. Seventy-five percent had doctorates, compared to 67-70 percent at other central and southern Florida universities, and many of the new hires said they gave up tenure to be part of an innovative new university.

Reed was actively recruited for the CSU job, first by Munitz and then by the CSU Board of Trustees. In Florida, when the Board of Regents got wind of the California recruitment effort, they begged him to stay, even offering to up his annual salary to the $254,000 offered by CSU. Although faculty members were irritated by the closed nature of the hiring process, others offer such glowing endorsements of the new chancellor as to be almost maudlin. "There is virtually no superlative that does not apply to Charlie Reed," said the late Florida Governor Lawton Chiles. "He is quite simply the best."

Except for the California faculty unions, there seems to be virtually no state education leader who doesn't like Charlie Reed. "He is a very smart, tough, dedicated administrator," says William Hauck, president of the California Business Roundtable and president of the CSU Trustees. "His whole experience is in education and state government, and that is exactly what we needed." Former state Senator Gary

Charles Reed

Professional

- Chancellor, California State University (1998-)
- Chancellor, State University System of Florida (1985-98)
- Office of the Governor, Florida: chief of staff (1984-85), deputy chief of staff (1981-84), director of legislative affairs (1980-81), education policy coordinator (1979-80)
- Florida State Department of Education: director, Office of Educational Planning, Budgeting and Evaluation (1975-79), associate for planning and coordination (1971-75)
- American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education: director, national project (1970-71)
- George Washington University, Washington D.C.: associate professor of education (1970); assistant professor of education (1965-70), graduate assistant and instructor of physical education (1963-64)

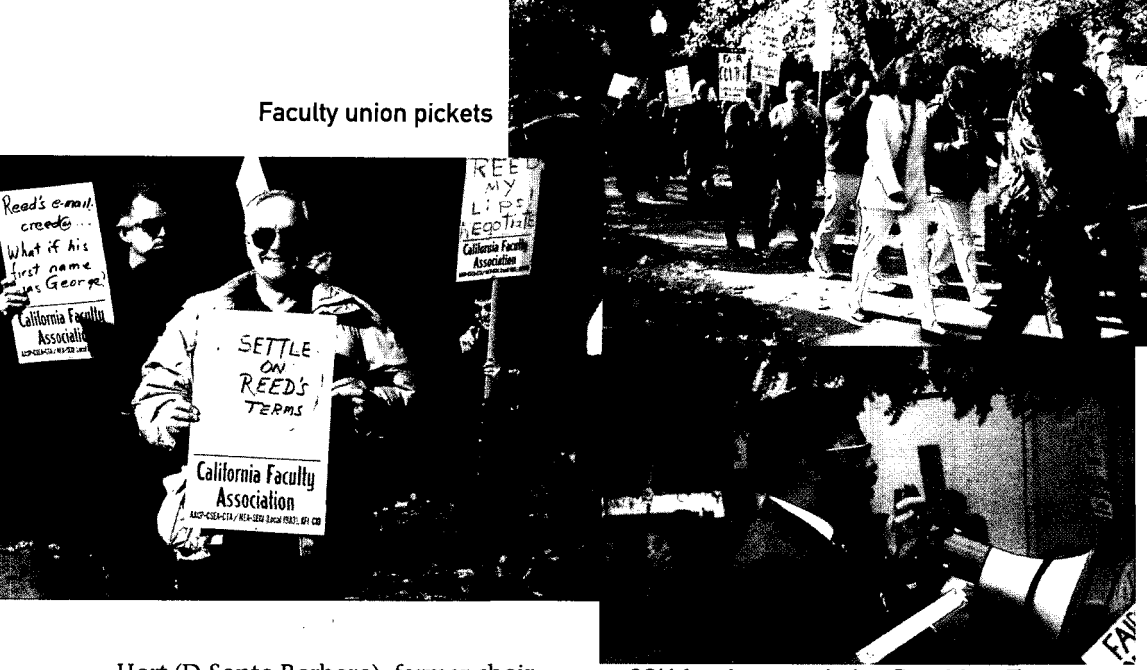
Education

- Bachelor of Science in Health and Physical Education (1963), Master of Science in Secondary Education (1964), Doctorate in Teacher Education (1970), George Washington University

Personal

- Born: Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, September 29, 1941
- Family: wife, Catherine Sayers Reed; two children, Chip, 31, and Susan, 29.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Faculty union pickets

CSU faculty association President Terry

Hart (D-Santa Barbara), former chair of the Senate Education Committee and Governor Gray Davis' new education secretary, calls Reed "hard-charging, hard-working, very focused — he's certainly not a laid-back academic. He listens very carefully to different constituencies."

Many say Reed's strength is his blunt-spoken ability to call it as he sees it. "Your family will tell you that you have spinach on your teeth," says state Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin, "but others may not. Charlie will."

Some faculty members say Reed "got off on the wrong foot" in California, first with the closed-door recruitment process and his identification with Munitz, long a thorn in the side of the faculty unions, and then with Reed's steamroller persona, which appeared to pick up where Munitz left off. Faculty members have been without a contract since their last three-year contract expired June 30; salaries are far below salaries in similar colleges around the country — a disparity Reed says he is committed to rectifying — and his emphasis on merit pay and technology-based, so-called "distance learning," all contributed to his prickly relationship with CSU faculty. Reed has visited all 23 CSU campuses, where he has had some tense confrontations with faculty mem-

prepare for the 1999 legislature!

StateNet/California Journal Professional Education:

Bill Analysis Workshop:
Identifying legislation plus a comprehensive analysis of its significance.
February 10

Demystifying the Legislative Process:
The lawmaking process and how it works.
February 11

Programs are from 9:00 AM to 1:00 PM in Sacramento & include materials. Ask about our new 1/2 day rates. Discounts for State Net clients.
Call for more information or to reserve your place. 916/444-2840

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bers, many carrying pickets protesting his proposals.

While visiting the CSU campuses, he often meets with K-12 superintendents as well, mindful of the fact that the CSU is responsible for training most of California's teachers and must fund remedial education for the state's often underprepared high school graduates.

"I found his impatience refreshing," said David Gordon, superintendent of the fast-growing Elk Grove Unified School District in southern Sacramento County, which has long had a teacher-training "partnership" with area colleges.

Reed is adamant that California train its teachers more effectively and faster. "A lot of states produce very good teachers, and they do it in four years," says Reed. "In California, you go to school for four years, and then you go out [in the fifth year required for a California credential] and find you don't like kids. We have to include more clinical [classroom] experience in the freshman year."

During one of his typical campus visits last fall, this one on Election Day, November 3, Reed was greeted at CSU-Sacramento by chanting pickets, many of them students, and angry faculty. He doggedly met with them for much of the day, lunching with the Faculty Senate and fielding sometimes heated questions in a packed campus ballroom. Reed never lost his cool, but neither did he back down, later calling some of the histrionics "childish." He insists he wants to "improve tenure," not destroy it, increasing pay for valued professors using a merit system that many faculty say is capricious and would undermine academic freedom. Contract talks, stymied for months, appeared to be progressing during the CSU winter recess in late December and January, and both sides were cautiously optimistic they could reach a viable compromise. "It remains acrimonious," said CSUS government professor Jeff Lustig, faculty association president at CSUS. "But you come to agreement not because you like each other."

Reed's western Pennsylvania working-class roots give him a strong identification with what he sees as the principal clientele of the CSU, students struggling to get a college education with limited financial resources. He becomes visibly angry when presented with examples of a system that sometimes does little—offering sparse night, summer or weekend classes and a crazy-quilt financial aid system — to bolster the educational aspirations of college students who have to work for a living.

"My brothers work shift work for Bethlehem Steel," says Reed. "My father worked in strip mines, and he helped build what they call 'tiples,' which is how you take the men down and bring them out of the mines. I have six brothers and sisters. Two of them went to college after I did. I really saw what an education can do for you."

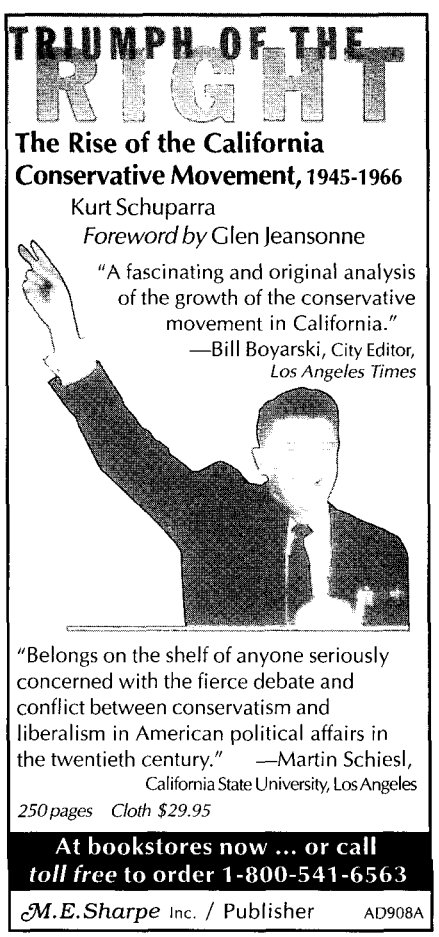
Reed's critics often chide him for a widely published comment that he "welcomed" private universities that cater to working adults, scheduling courses on evenings and weekends, utilizing working professionals as faculty — and charging considerably more than the CSU. "Right now they are more convenient than we are," he says. "That is why they are beating us. So let's offer more night classes, more Saturday classes, more cohort classes where you can complete something in three or five weeks in the summertime."

Stunned that many CSU institutions operate minimally during the summer and are virtually closed on weekends — save libraries, food service, some labs, but few actual classes — Reed thunders: "The summer thing has just shocked me. Students and faculty are scared to death that they might have to go to school in the summertime, work in the summertime. Culturally, it is just really foreign to California."

Something to do with the formerly agrarian economy of the region, when youth were needed to harvest the crops?

"California is a global economy," he says curtly. "We are no longer farmers."

Senior Editor Sigrid Bathen covers education for the California Journal. *Comments on this article may be e-mailed to sigridb@statenet.com.*


TRIUMPH OF THE RIGHT
The Rise of the California Conservative Movement, 1945-1966
Kurt Schuparra
Foreword by Glen Jeansonne
"A fascinating and original analysis of the growth of the conservative movement in California."
—Bill Boyarski, City Editor, Los Angeles Times
"Belongs on the shelf of anyone seriously concerned with the fierce debate and conflict between conservatism and liberalism in American political affairs in the twentieth century." —Martin Schiesl, California State University, Los Angeles
250 pages Cloth $29.95
At bookstores now ... or call toll free to order 1-800-541-6563
M.E. Sharpe Inc. / Publisher AD908A

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the Record:

Xavier Becerra **NO**
Los Angeles (D) CD-30

Tom Campbell **YES**
Campbell (R) CD-15

Howard Berman **NO**
Mission Hills (D) CD-26

Lois Capps **NO**
Santa Barbara (D) CD-22

Brain Bilbray **YES**
San Diego (R) CD-49

Gary Condit **NO**
Ceres (D) CD-18

Mary Bono **YES**
Palm Springs (R) CD-44

Christopher Cox **YES**
Newport Beach (R) CD-47

George Brown **NO**
San Bernardino (D) CD-42

Randy Cunningham **YES**
San Diego (R) CD-51

As presidential impeachment proceedings march onward, many Californians feel removed and detached from this latest strain of Potomac Fever consuming Capitol Hill. In some circles, even bringing up the topic during a social occasion is frowned upon as impolite and divisive. In others, such as the Bay Area-launched online crusade waged at www.moveon.org, the public is urged not to look away from the debate and to hold their elected officials accountable for their votes.

"Politicians think the public has a short memory," said Joan Blades, co-founder of MoveOn.org. "They are wrong."

It was former U.S. Senator Alan Simpson (R) of Wyoming who was widely quoted as saying Congress members need not fret about backlash because Americans, with their short attention spans, can focus only on the latest box-office blockbuster.

But Blades and followers say they take that for a challenge, and are collecting pledges from like-minded voters — Democrats, Independents and Republicans — to help fund alternative candidates in upcoming elections. "We will remember," she said.

Ken Calvert **YES**
Corona (R) CD-43

Julian Dixon **NO**
Culver City (D) CD-32

John Doolittle **YES**
Rocklin (R) CD-4

Calvin Dooley **NO**
Visalia (D) CD-20

David Dreier **YES**
San Dimas (R) CD-28

Anna Eshoo **NO**
Atherton (D) CD-14

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California's Impeachment Vote

Sam Farr **NO**
Carmel (D) CD-17

Steve Horn **YES**
Long Beach (R) CD-38

Zoe Lofgren **NO**
San Jose (D) CD-16

Ron Packard **YES**
Oceanside (R) CD-48

Dana Rohrabacher **YES**
Coronado (R) CD-45

Ellen Tauscher **NO**
Tassajara Valley (D) CD-10

Vic Fazio **NO**
W. Sacramento (D) CD-3

Duncan Hunter **YES**
Alpine (R) CD-52

Matthew Martinez **NO**
Monterey Park (D) CD-31

Nancy Peliosi **NO**
San Francisco (D) CD-8

Lucille Roybal-Allard **NO**
Bell Gardens (D) CD-33

William Thomas **YES**
Bakersfield (R) CD-21

Jane Harman **NO**
Marina Del Rey (D) CD-36

Jay Kim **YES/NO**
Ontario (R) CD-41

Robert Matsui **NO**
Sacramento (D) CD-5

Richard Pombo **YES**
Tracy (R) CD-11

Edward Royce **YES**
Fullerton (R) CD-39

Esteban Torres **NO**
E. Los Angeles (D) CD-34

Elton Gallegly **YES**
Simi Valley (R) CD-23

Tom Lantos **NO**
San Mateo (D) CD-12

Juanita
Millender-McDonald **NO**
Corona (D) CD-37

George Radanovich **YES**
Mariposa (R) CD-19

Loretta Sanchez **NO**
Anaheim (D) CD-46

Maxine Waters **NO**
Los Angeles (D) CD-35

Bob Filner **NO**
San Diego (D) CD-50

Barbara Lee **NO**
Oakland (D) CD-9

Howard McKeon **YES**
Santa Clarita (R) CD-25

Frank Riggs **YES**
Napa (R) CD-1

Brad Sherman **NO**
Sherman Oaks (D) CD-24

Henry Waxman **NO**
Los Angeles (D) CD-29

Wally Herger **YES**
Marysville (R) CD-2

Jerry Lewis **YES**
Redlands (R) CD-40

George Miller **ABSENT**
Martinez (D) CD-7

James Rogan **YES**
Glendale (R) CD-27

Fortney "Pete" Stark **NO**
Hayward (D) CD-13

Lynn Woolsey **NO**
Petaluma (D) CD-6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reality Check

(Or, can we afford another childless governor?)

by Cynthia H. Craft

"Hurry boys, get to the car. The new governor's talking about education. He's giving his State of the State speech."

"State of the what?" Shoulders slump. Feet take on great weight. Backpacks drag as we cross the school parking lot. "Mom, do we have to watch it on C-SPAN?"

"No, no, no. It's on the radio. Come on now, into the car. I rushed here from work so we could hear it together."

Back-seat Dialogue: "Mom, can we go to Steve's Pizza? I'm hungry and we don't have anything at home that I like."

"Shhhh! Let's listen."

"I am proposing $444 million ... for measures to improve reading skills of children. I call this program READ: Raising Expectations, Achievement and ..."

BD: "READ? No duh."

"...This will help us ensure that every child ... is a competent reader by the end of the third grade."

BD: "Third grade?! Mrs. Washburn says we should be reading by first grade."

"I know, honey. But not every kid has a Mrs. Washburn."

BD: "I mean, look at Ben. He's in first grade and he's reading Roald Dahl books."

"I know, dear. Several kids in his classroom are."

"So I'm challenging ... the teaching community to help me elevate the profession of teaching."

BD: "Lots of kids want to be teachers when they grow up."

"Just as we challenge students, teachers and principals to hold higher expectations, so too we must ask more of parents."

"That reminds me, Ben. Did you remember to give Mrs. Reeves your clothespin?"

BD: (In a tone of high exasperation) "Maaom. It's not a clothespin. It's an old-fashioned doll from a country of our heritage."

"Oh, all right. Well, did you?"

BD: "Ye-es."

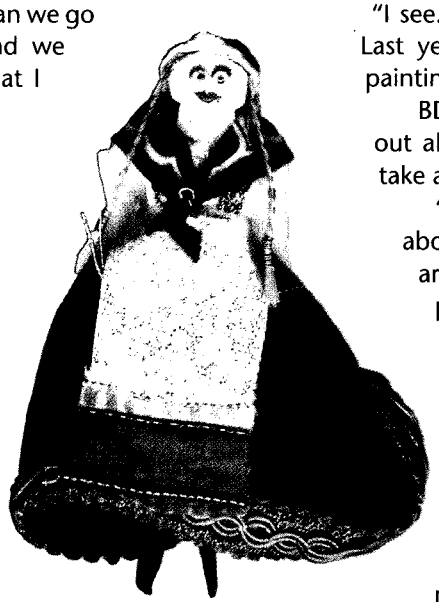
BD: "It's a good thing we have an aunt who's an artist — who remembers what a Laplander looks like."

"And a Mom who's willing to drive all the way to Oakland to take her a wooden clothespin, I might add."

"... to require parents to sign a contract with their schools."

"Kyle, how's your science fair project? When do you have to turn something in?"

BD: "Pretty soon. I need to find out if a pickle generates or conducts electricity. If it generates, I can run electrical current from the pickle through the potato. Or compare it to how much electricity a lemon generates."



"I see. Let's get to work on it early. Last year we were up 'til midnight painting your presentation board."

BD: "Mom, all I have to do is find out about the pickle. Then it'll just take about an hour to set it up."

"Yes, dear. You're forgetting about all the stuff we have to run around to get. Wires, batteries, produce. God knows what else."

"By giving their word to ... assist on homework, to engage the process of learning, parents can set an example...."

"Say, Ben, did you find out when Mrs. Reeves wants me to come in Scandinavian folk costume to talk about Finland?"

BD: "No."

"She still wants parents to come in costume?"

BD: "I don't know."

"Do *you* want me to? I'm not going to do it unless you want me to. *My* mother never did. Kyle, you don't think Mrs. Mote will mind if I do the art docent thing while in costume?"

BD: "Uh, Mom, it's fifth grade. ...I don't know if you should show up like that...."

"So in my plan, no one gets a free ride. Students will be tested. Teachers will be reviewed. Principals will be held to account. And parents will be urged to assume greater responsibility."

BD: "Did you vote for this guy, Mom?"

"I'm going to have to plead the Fifth on that one, dear."

BD: "Mom, can we go to Steve's Pizza if I get an 'A' on my spelling test?"

Cynthia H. Craft is managing editor of the California Journal. *Comments may be sent to cindic@statenet.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

State Net delivers like nobody's business.

Because nobody's business is quite like yours.

How many opportunities and threats to your business were buried in the 153,000 bills introduced in state legislatures this year? If you used State Net, you wouldn't have to worry about missing a single one. State Net is the only service that delivers timely, accurate and comprehensive monitoring for all 50 states and Congress. Call us toll-free at 800.726.4566 or take a self-guided tour at www. statenet.com.

STATE NET

Information & Intelligence on the 50 States & Congress

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Impeachment

by Marc Sandalow

Less than 24 hours after she was sworn in to a second term, Barbara Boxer sat down with a group of reporters and listed no fewer than 20 legislative priorities ranging from HMO reform and after-school care, to offshore oil bans and new regulations on handguns.

Reporters scribbled furiously in their note pads, and dutifully waited approximately one nanosecond before pressing Boxer on the only issue that they knew would generate any ink.

"Senator, regarding impeachment ... "

The trial of William Jefferson Clinton has overshadowed everything else in the nation's capital. Forget Social Security, education or health-care reform. As the trial opened it became abundantly clear that until it ends — and as this column is being written it was not clear it ever will — Washington will focus on nothing else.

I think the Senate during the time of the impeachment will be consumed by the matter of impeachment.

"We'll all try to do our work, but this is very grave," said Boxer, whose flu-induced dizzy spell on the first day of the proceedings led to false reports that she had been taken away by ambulance.

For nearly a year, the White House has boasted of Clinton's capacity to manage affairs of state despite the scandal, due to the president's ability to "compartmentalize." The early weeks of 1999 suggest that the Senate and the news media — and in all likelihood the White House, as well — have no such talent.

"There are important [policy] things that we should be doing ... I don't see how both can go on," said Senator Dianne Feinstein. "I think the Senate during the time of the impeachment will be consumed by the matter of impeachment."

These are momentous times in Washington. Filled with history and occasion. But not legislation.

As the trial opened, California's two jurors were in the same position as almost every other Democratic senator — angry with House Republicans, annoyed with their president and frustrated that their time as members of the "world's most deliberative club" would be distracted by such tawdriness. "The question comes up whether this is in the nation's interest," said Feinstein.

Their positions have evolved roughly in tandem. A year ago, Feinstein and Boxer were both in the White House's Roosevelt Room when Clinton made his now famous, finger-wagging declaration: "I did not have sexual relations with that woman, {Monica] Lewinsky."

Seven months later, Feinstein exploded in anger when Clinton finally admitted his relationship with Lewinsky, saying "my faith in his credibility has been badly shattered."

Boxer, whose daughter is married to the First Lady's brother and who had remained quiet on the matter for months, took to the Senate floor in early September to condemn the president's behavior as "immoral" and "indefensible."

Though the intensity of their reactions and their enthusiasm to talk about it has been varied, overall their positions are indistinguishable. Both deplore the president's behavior as "reprehensible." Yet neither believe it warrants his removal from office, and it is almost inconceivable that either would vote for his conviction.

"Assume that every word is true in the Starr report, and I don't think it necessarily is," Boxer said. "Does it all rise to the level of high crimes and misdemeanors? ... I don't see this rising to that level."

Feinstein agrees. "The president will always have the stigma of being impeached," she said. "I don't know how much blood, so to speak, one feels you have to get out of the situation."

Feinstein said that the subject at the source of Clinton's alleged perjury and obstruction of justice "his sexual proclivities," as she put it, diminished the seriousness of his actions. " My view is that we ought to keep [the trial] short ... so we can get on with the nation's business."

For Feinstein, who faces voters again in less than two years, that means money to build more schools, tighter regulations on domestic and international gun sales, a "bill of rights" for crime victims and a crackdown on gangs.

Neither senator's political fortunes appear closely tied to the trial's outcome, although the Republican majority's willingness to work with any Democratic members may depend on the comity shown during the coming months.

Yet even for those not known for their bipartisan tendencies, the pause in legislative activity is a source of frustration. Boxer's irritability was evident when a reporter questioned whether a six-week delay would really endanger any important priorities. "This isn't easy," she snapped, referring to the legislative process. "It takes votes, test votes, press conferences. ... Six weeks is a long time in my working life."

Contributing Editor Marc Sandalow is Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Chronicle. *Comments on his column may be e-mailed c/o editor@statenet.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Centered in California since 1958.

Why did Nissan invest over $270 million in California, making it home to our corporate headquarters, our international design center and ten other facilities throughout the state? Because everyone knows, the coolest things always start out in California.

INVESTING IN CALIFORNIA
www.nissan-na.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Your child has leukemia." The most devastating news a parent could hear. It used to mean there was little chance of survival. Now, 80 percent of kids diagnosed with leukemia not only survive—but lead normal lives. How? New breakthrough medicines, discovered and developed by pharmaceutical company researchers, have given many leukemia patients and their parents a second chance. The new medicines our researchers are discovering are giving families hope—and patients a chance to be kids again.

America's Pharmaceutical Companies

Leading the way in the search for cures

www.searchforcures.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED